

FBIS

DAILY REPORT

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Vol II No 189

28 September 1983

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REPORT ON INTERCOSMOS SESSION HELD IN SOFIA

AU241224 Sofia BTA in English 1854 GMT 23 Sep 83

[Text] Sofia, Sept 23 (BTA) -- A regular session of the Permanent Working Group of the socialist countries on space communications under the "Intercosmos" programme was held in Sofia, September 20 through 23. The delegates in the session discussed the results of the researches in the sphere of space communications in the 1982-1983 period. It was stressed that the international experiments' field set up in Dubna, USSR, stands an eloquent example of socialist integration.

It was stressed at the session that the development of new and promising apparatuses for the international satellite communications system of "Intersputnik" is proceeding successfully. A programme for the work on the transmission of research data along satellite lines was coordinated. The directives were outlined for researches in the sphere of space communications in the next five-year period.

BRIEFS

CEMA GEOLOGICAL COMMISSION MEETS -- [No dateline as received] -- Five days of deliberations of the Scientific-Technological Council of the Geological Commission of CEMA have begun in Gdansk. The council will outline the prognosis for development and coordination of geological researches of the member-countries of CEMA till 1990. [Text] [Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 27 Sep 83 LD]

POLAND'S OBODOWSKI ON CEMA -- Warsaw 27 Sept (PAP) -- The latest issue of the CEMA bulletin ECONOMIC COOPERATION OF THE CEMA STATES appearing in Moscow, carries an article by Poland's deputy premier, chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers, Dr Janusz Obodowski. The article is headlined "Cooperation With the CEMA States -- An Important Factor of Development of Polish Economy". The Polish deputy premier emphasized that the coordination of economic policy, including imports, tariffs, credits, transport and licenses, assumes ever greater significance for developing and deepening of integration of the CEMA states. The author said that economic integration between the CEMA countries requires that aims of the economic policy should be defined to cover the period till the end of the 20th century. An economy conference of the CEMA states at the top party and state level, wrote Premier Obodowski, will be of great importance for achieving noticeable progress on this road. The conference will impart new stimuli in expanding cooperation between our fraternal countries, Deputy Premier Obodowski concluded. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1426 GMT 27 Sep 83 LD]

CEMA WORK COMMITTEE MEETS -- Budapest, September 27 (MTI) -- A four-day meeting of a CEMA work committee with deputy ministers participating started at Dobogoko, Tuesday, on the current aims in microprocessor technical cooperation. The member-states have formulated a cooperation programme for the development, and wide use of microprocessor technology, and signed a governmental agreement on implementation in the 36th session of the CEMA. Under the programme microprocessor-controlled machines, equipment and instruments are to be developed in 60 fields, and some 30 Hungarian companies and research institutes are participating. In an effort to co-ordinate cooperation, a temporary work group of deputy ministers was set up to survey in its present third session implementation of plans and possibilities of further cooperation. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 27 Sep 83 LD]

COMMENTARY ON BLOC'S MOSCOW TALKS ON INF

AU270919 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Sep 83 p 7

[Commentary by Miroslaw Dackiewicz, deputy head of the PZPR Central Committee's Foreign Department: "While There Is Still Time"]

[Excerpts] During the Moscow conference of Central Committee secretaries from the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries, support was once again emphasized for the intelligent compromise that the USSR is doing its utmost to bring about. Both the Soviet proposals to refrain from deploying new intermediate-range weapons in Europe and to reduce the number of missiles already possessed by the USSR and NATO to 300 on each side, and the unilateral moratorium on the deployment of new missiles with the intention of partly reducing the USSR's arsenal of intermediate-range weapons, reflect the USSR's real intentions in the struggle against a further arms spiral and for the preservation of world peace.

Despite the concentrated efforts of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact states, the international situation is still characterized by enormous tension and by imperialism's constant efforts to create new trouble spots and conflicts in the world. This dangerous policy of the American Administration is becoming more and more of a burden for the international situation.

The fraternal party leadership representatives taking part in the Moscow talks spoke with particular unease about the further potentially unfavorable development of the situation in Europe. Both tragic world wars started on our continent, where the boundary lies between both ideological-political systems, where the activity of the two most powerful political and military groups -- the Warsaw Pact and NATO -- is concentrated, and where an enormous quantity of nuclear weapons is gathered. At the same time, Europe is where the policy of detente was commenced on a wide scale in the Middle of the seventies. So on the one hand, we are faced with a deadly danger resulting from the United States' plans to deploy nuclear missiles, and on the other hand we are entitled to a limited amount of optimism because of the political climate after the Madrid conference and after the initiative to convene a conference in Stockholm concerning the establishment of mutual trust and security and concerning disarmament on our continent.

Success for the Geneva negotiations still seems possible. Everything depends on the reaction and good will of the United States. The point is that the American Administration should understand that attempts to gain military superiority both by means of the "zero" option or the "interim" option are illusions, and only honest accord on the basis of equality and equal security by both sides forms the prerequisite for peace and security in Europe and the world. President Reagan's administration must be aware that if the current round of negotiations on Eurostrategic weapons turns into a fiasco, it will carry full responsibility for the next round of arms escalation. Because of the leaders of the United States, the world could approach the worst catastrophe in its history.

REACTION TO REAGAN'S UN SPEECH REPORTED

Termed Demagogical

AU271416 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1230 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] In a speech that he delivered yesterday at the session of the UN General Assembly, President Reagan of the United States, using demagogic rhetoric, once again tried to justify in the eyes of international public opinion the aggressive policy of the United States, the unchecked arms race, and the constant strengthening of U.S. military potential. According to reports, he blamed the Soviet Union for the arms race and for the impasse at the Geneva American-Soviet talks on the limitation of medium-range nuclear missiles. He stressed the latest U.S. proposals on Euromissiles, defining them as constructive, while rejecting the Soviet proposals and stressing that they ensure superiority for the Soviet Union. However, Reagan did not fail to stress that the door is still open for agreement with the Soviet Union, that the United States is for a flexible rapprochement of views in order to achieve a compromise, making it clear that the two superpowers can find a common language.

But despite the demagoguery concerning disarmament, Reagan made open allusions to the fact that the arms race will continue, and that the United States will continue to rearm, despite all the disarmament proposals. The United States reserves the right to deploy U.S. missiles in other countries, he stated.

The U.S. President also mentioned in his speech the tense situation created in the Middle East, Chad, and Latin America, remaining silent on the open American military intervention in these areas, which have been transformed into an arena where the hegemonistic interests of the two imperialist superpowers are clashing savagely.

Attacked as 'Hypocritical'

AU272058 Tirana Domestic Service in Albania 1900 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Unattributed commentary: "Efforts to Disguise the Aggressive Course of the United States"]

[Text] News agencies report that the President of the United States, Reagan, delivered a speech yesterday at the UN General Assembly session. As was expected, in this speech Reagan officially presented his latest proposals to the Soviet Union on the question of medium-range nuclear missiles and on other problems concerning relations between the two superpowers.

In his speech, Reagan called upon the Soviet Union to accept a new series of American proposals in the Geneva talks on Euromissiles. He stated that the door is open for an agreement. Explaining in detail the new bargainings, counting and recounting the number of nuclear missiles, the American President nevertheless emphasized that regardless of the proposals for concluding an agreement, Washington reserves the right to deploy missiles in other countries. The essence of Reagan's new proposals, as news agencies comment, aims at reaching a Soviet-American compromise to keep a defined high level of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. This does not at all affect the American decision to deploy without any hesitation the Pershing and cruise missiles on European territory.

Similarly, the Soviet proposals do not affect Moscow's determination to keep the SS-20 missiles deployed in Eastern Europe. Reagan clearly stated that the aim of the Geneva Soviet-American talks and the whole so-called dialogue -- over which there is so much clamor both in Washington and in Moscow -- is for both superpowers to preserve their nuclear monopoly and make agreements with each other at the expense of the interests and independence of other countries and peoples. He stated that we are ready to approve a flexible rapprochement and to make compromise.

Reagan emphasized, inter alia, that his new proposals on Euromissiles have become the object of deep consultations between the United States and the NATO allies. This could be seen from the immediate reaction of the allies to the speech. As news agencies report, the British prime minister expressed her pleasure about the important American proposals, while a West German Government communique published in Bonn fully supported the new American initiative and emphasized readiness to contribute to this initiative.

In his speech to the United Nations, the American President also urged the Nonaligned Movement to have closer relations with Washington and not to be tied only to Moscow. Speaking in a hypocritical tone, Reagan concluded his speech by stating that the United States reiterates its commitment to peace. How sincere this commitment is, can be seen, among other ways, in the fact that precisely at the time the American President was delivering his speech to the United Nations, the U.S. Defense Information Center reported that the Pentagon will produce another 17,000 nuclear warheads during the next 10 years, spending \$450 billion on this.

The Soviet information and propaganda means, as expected, rejected Reagan's proposals presented at the United Nations, re-emphasizing their own proposals, which are just as deceptive and dangerous as the American ones.

Reagan's speech at the United Nations was another effort to employ demagoguery to hide the dangerous and aggressive course of American imperialism.

TANJUG: HOXHA BOOK BANNED AT ALGIERS BOOK FAIR

AU271531 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1406 GMT 22 Sep 83

[Text] Algiers, 22 Sep (TANJUG) -- Chadli Bendjedid, president of Algeria, has opened the international book fair in Algiers in which publishers from some 40 countries are participating, including the Yugoslav publishers from all republics and both provinces, who are exhibiting a total of 265 books.

At this international event Albania tried to exhibit also the pamphlet-type book "The Titoites" by Enver Hoxha, but this attempt was foiled. This pamphlet by Enver Hoxha, aimed against our country, has been removed from the Albanian stand, where it was displayed in a prominent place.

BRIEFS

FINLAND-ALBANIA CULTURAL AGREEMENT -- Tirana, September 8 (ATA) -- The program on cultural and scientific exchanges between the Government of the PSR (People's Socialist Republic) of Albania and the Government of the Republic of Finland for 1983, 1984 and 1985 was signed in Tirana yesterday. The program was signed for the Albanian side by the chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries, Jorgo Melica, and for the Finnish side by the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Finland to the PSR of Albania, Olli Bergman. Attending the signing ceremony were the vice-minister of Education and Culture, Bardhyl Golemi; the director of the department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Andon Berxolli; the vice-rector of Tirana University, Hasan Mucostepa; etc. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 8 Sep 83 AU]

BTA CALLS REAGAN'S UN SPEECH 'DEMAGOGICAL'

AU271507 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 27 Sep 83

["Replacing Truth With Lie" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, Sept 27 (BTA observer Todor Stoyanov) -- By his speech delivered at the UNO Mr Reagan produced evidence of his artistic skill to blur the truth through demagogic means and to replace it with lies.

Mr Reagan represented his country as a staunch and consistent champion of peace and non-violence, which sounds cynical. The verbal allegations can neither efface the U.S. war against Vietnam, nor can they eliminate the horrible range of acts carried out in support of the despots, to begin with the Iranian shah and end with Pinochet and the Salvadoran butchers.

"I return again to you carrying the care of peace with me." This phrase has been uttered by Mr Reagan and it is enough to show that undue benefit has been derived from the truth, something Mr Reagan had done from the beginning to the end of his speech by assuming the defence of the disarmament on himself in words, he did not give in his stand of an ideologist of the policy from the position of strength. [as received]

This time again Mr Reagan spoke highly of the "zero option" -- the Trojan horse through which the USA is making an attempt to break the balance of forces for its benefit. The President also neglected the question relating to the British and French nuclear weapons as if they do not exist at all. But it is well-known from the elementary arithmetics that each quantity is a part of the sum and has an effect on it. The fact that the British and French nuclear-missiles systems have been declared to be national ones does not alter the fact that in compliance with the Atlantic plan they are aimed at objects in the USSR and would be fired against them on the order of the Western bloc.

And if one could say that by acknowledging the impossibility of winning a nuclear war Mr Reagan has approached verbally a truth so elementary for the peoples, he drifted away from them in the sphere of all which corroborates of the U.S. preparation of a war from the position of strength.

He drifted away from the genuine peaceloving forces of the socialist community, from the peaceloving forces of the non-aligned countries, (?for whom peace is) an aim, and not a demagogic phrase.

BTA DENIES CHARGES AGAINST ARRESTED KOSTADINOV

AU272015 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] The BTA has reported the following: On 23 September, FBI agents without any foundation at all and obviously carrying out a provocation prepared and planned in advance, arrested Bulgarian citizen Penyu Kostadinov, an employee at the trade-economic service at the Bulgarian Embassy residing in New York, under the charge that he was involved in illegal activity. In order to justify this charge, the most crude frame-up was staged. According to the FBI agents, secret documents were found after Kostadinov was arrested. Until his illegal arrest, Penyu Kostadinov performed the work of an official trade employee in the economic and scientific-technical cooperation sphere. In his activity Kostadinov has never tried to obtain and has never obtained secret materials affecting U.S. interests. It is certain that the only secret material which he had in his hands was that which the FBI gave him on 23 September. The material was selected by the FBI, which employed a trusted person prepared in advance to carry out the planned provocation.

The present charges against Penyu Kostadinov are unjustified and absurd while his arrest was an open and well-planned provocation. [words indistinct] the conditions under which the innocent Bulgarian citizen was arrested. It was not accidental that representatives of the U.S. television companies and of other mass information media were also there.

The noisy campaign that began in the United States only minutes after the arrest of Penyu Kostadinov indicates who the organizers of this (?affair) are and what their aims are. These are those same U.S. circles that organized the provocation related to the civil airplane, and that are against a positive development of the relations between Bulgaria and the United States. [word indistinct] search for a justification for the dangerous policy of intensifying the world tension and the arms race, and of instigating a confrontation with the socialist countries.

NOVO VREME ATTACKS 'CHINESE HEGEMONISM'

AU251835 Sofia Novo Vreme in Bulgarian No 8 (signed to press 1 July 1983) pp 84-92

[Article by Marin Rusev: "China's Hegemonism and Anti-Sovietism Remain Unchanged" -- passage in capitals are printed in boldface]

[Excerpts] Under the circumstances of exacerbated confrontation between the forces of peace, progress, and socialism, on the one hand, and the forces of war, reaction, and imperialism on the other, it is important to explain on which side of the barricade each individual state, each party, each political group, and even each individual person is standing.

In view of this it is quite natural that we must correctly evaluate the role which the PRC is playing, or is trying to play on the international scene, above all, from the point of view of the tasks inherent in the struggle against imperialism, and of the stands on questions of war and peace, as well as from the point of view of the actual policy conducted by the Chinese leadership as regards the socialist community, and China's approach to real socialism and the worldwide revolutionary process. In other words, we must determine in the most accurate way possible, the place of present-day China in the strategic correlation of world forces, by distinguishing between deeds and words and declarations of the Chinese leaders.

An analysis of the documents issued by the 12th CPC Congress held in autumn 1982, and by the sessions of the All-Chinese Assembly of People's Deputies, held following the congress, as well as an analysis of statements and interviews given by Chinese leaders, and of their specific actions on the international scene, reveal an intensification of Beijing's activities in the foreign policy sector and an increase in the maneuvering in this field.

We must note, above all, that the Chinese leadership preserves the basic strategic goal of its foreign policy -- namely, China's aspiration to come close and catch up with the USSR and the United States as regards political-economic influence and military power, to become a "superpower" with its own sphere of influence in international relations.

The basic method of achieving this goal also remains unchanged -- namely, reliance on the contradictions between the two existing socioeconomic systems and efforts to keep these contradictions alive through political, diplomatic, and propaganda manipulations so that the tension between the USSR and the United States can be maintained on a sufficiently high level for China to profit from this.

It is true that the Chinese leadership has recently introduced certain corrections and "nuances" in its attitude, and that it has changed the accents in some of its foreign policy statements.

This was also heard from the rostrum of the 12th CPC Congress and it can be seen from the declarations and actions of Chinese leaders in the period following the congress. Some more important reasons for these corrections could be described as follows: Attempts by the Chinese leadership to create a so-called "broad international front" against the USSR and the socialist community have failed; it has become increasingly obvious to everybody, including the Chinese leaders, that imperialism, American imperialism above all, intends to use Beijing's drastic anti-Sovietism for its own purposes, assigning China a second-rate role on the international scene, and treating it as a "junior partner" even in its reactionary, anti-Soviet alliance; the overt pro-imperialist policy conducted by Deng Xiaoping and his supporters has inflicted serious damage on the PRC's prestige among the developing countries; the Chinese leadership has been unable to implement its policy of establishing and developing relations with communist parties in various countries on the basis of its hitherto practiced overt anti-Soviet attitude; Beijing's onesided orientation toward imperialism has evoked dissatisfaction not only among the broad masses of peoples and the CPC rank and file members, but even among certain circles within the leadership. The new "nuances" in the policy of the Chinese leadership also serve as a method of exerting pressure on the United States, aimed at extracting more economic and political advantages for China itself.

These new accents and nuances are expressed, above all, in the statement stressing that China "will never join any great power or group of states whatsoever", and in China's increasing claims to play the role of "a third force" in world politics, as well as in its striving to mask Beijing's hitherto practiced open rapprochement with imperialism under the cover of moderate criticism of "American imperialism" and "Japanese militarism," and in the attempt to demonstrate China's equidistance from both the USSR and the United States through a strongly advertised emphasis on the PRC as part of the "third world."

A more careful study of the actual meaning of the aforementioned "nuances" and, in particular, of Beijing's practical actions following the congress, gives us reason to believe that the "corrections" only pertain to tactics and represent a striving to create better opportunities for the Chinese leadership's maneuvering on the internationalism scene. HEGEMONISM AND ANTI-SOVIETISM IN THE POLICY OF BEIJING AND ITS STRUGGLE AGAINST THE USSR AND ITS ALLIES ON A GLOBAL SCALE REMAIN UNCHANGED.

Let the facts speak for themselves. Is there any confirmation of the statements claiming that China "does not depend upon any great power or group of states" and that it is conducting "an independent policy," (footnote 3: "Documents of the 12th All-Chinese Congress of the CPC," Publication of Literature in Foreign Languages, Beijing 1982, p 60), that the "struggle against hegemonism" is the "basis of the Chinese Government's foreign policy" (footnote 4: "Main Points of Premier Zhao's Government. P. Work report," BEIJING REVIEW, No 25, 20 June 1983, p 17). Have these declarations actually led to any changes in the priorities of Beijing's foreign policy?

The Chinese leaders are constantly stressing their wish to develop relations between the PRC and the United States. The thesis of the 11th CPC Congress (1977), that "basic differences of opinions" exist between China and the United States has been revoked (footnote 6: "Political Report by Chairman Huagofeng to the 11th CPC All-Chinese Congress." Information Bulletin of the XINHUA Agency in Russian, Beijing, No 5913, 23 Aug 1977, p 35 a).

The truth is that, recently, certain elements of tension have appeared in the relations between China and the United States. China reacted relatively sharply to certain pro-Taiwan actions of the American Administration and of President Reagan personally, as well as against the measures adopted to restrict Chinese textile imports to the United States, and so forth. This reaction of Beijing's was the reason for some observers to make rather hasty conclusions that China has adopted an almost anti-American course and that there is a transition from pro-imperialism to anti-imperialism.

Unfortunately, however, such considerations are not confirmed by reality. All true friends of China would like to see this country among the active participants in the struggle against the aggressive imperialist policy. For the time being, however, such differences of opinion can be seen not with the general strategy of the Reagan administration which is directed against peace and socialism and against the basic interests of all peoples in the world including the American and Chinese peoples themselves, but rather with problems affecting the narrow national interests of China. To describe certain facts of rivalry between China and the United States within the framework of their hegemonistic strategy as anti-imperialism on the part of Beijing -- this would mean making unjustified overtures to the Chinese leadership and mistake mere wishful thinking for reality.

Neither the Chinese nor the American leaders miss any opportunity to point out the great importance they attach to the development of relations between their two countries and to define the orientation they would like to give to those relations. "The gravity of Soviet hegemonism continues to overshadow all other problems existing between China and its American friends, including the question of Taiwan," the deputy chairman of the Chinese State Council, declared (footnote 7: JAPAN TIMES, Tokyo, 19 Oct 1982).

Contacts between the United States and China are being expanded in the military sector. Shultz had a prolonged talk in Beijing with the Chinese minister of defense. High-ranking military officials were included in the Shultz delegation. An agreement was signed to hold working consultations and to renew cooperation and exchange, particularly in the field of military medicine, in training military cadres, and in the material-technical equipment of the troops.

Cooperation between China and the United States in the trade-economic sector is developing successfully. The volume of American-Chinese trade amounted to \$5.2 billion in 1982, 17 times more than the volume of Soviet-Chinese trade, and 4 times more than China's trade turnover with all socialist countries.

Beijing particularly relies upon the advantages from its scientific-technical cooperation with the United States. Approximately 150 joint Chinese-American projects are being implemented in the PRC at this moment, all pertaining to the scientific and technical sphere. American specialists, including Nobel Prize winners, are being invited to visit China.

The economic and scientific-technical relations between China and Japan are also developing quite actively. In 1982 the foreign trade exchange between these two countries amounted to about \$9 billion.

In discussing the question of whether the essence, the basic orientation and the priorities of the foreign policy pursued by the Chinese leadership have changed, it will be necessary to touch on the attitude toward the vital problems of our times. Against the background of the concern shown by the socialist countries and by all peace-loving forces of the world with regard to the imminent danger of a nuclear war, against the background of the energetic actions undertaken by these peace-loving forces which comprise millions of peoples on the globe, actions aimed at cutting short the attempts of imperialism to involve mankind in the horrors of annihilation, Beijing assumes a position which aims at crushing and weakening the antiwar movement, and the latter's anti-imperialist orientation, to promote its own anti-Soviet and antisocialist aims. In his report to the 12th CCP Congress Hu Yaobang placed the USSR and the United States on the same level and ascribed to them an equal amount of blame for preparing and igniting new wars. He said: "As a result of the clashes between the two superpowers, the danger of a new world war is constantly increasing.... We oppose not only a world war, as prepared by the superpowers, we also oppose all aggressive wars of a local nature, provoked or supported by them" (footnote 17: "Documents of the 12th All-China CCP Congress" p 65).

When China speaks of hegemonism and the necessity to struggle against it, it leaves no doubt as to whom this term is applied. In his speech at the opening of the 12th CPC Congress Deng Xiaoping classified the "struggle against hegemonism" as one of the "three basic tasks facing the Chinese people in the eighties" (footnote 20: "Documents of the 12th All-China CPC Congress," pp 4-5). Although, from time to time, statements by Chinese leaders may contain references to the "hegemonism of the two superpowers" or to the struggle against "imperialism, hegemonism, and colonialism," on each occasion when these concepts are explained or made more concrete, the United States is passed over in silence and the term "hegemonism" is most blatantly linked to the Soviet Union.

Hu Yaobang's report to the 12th CPC Congress -- although toning down the anti-Soviet attacks as compared to the reports delivered at the three preceding congresses -- again blamed the Soviet Union for the worsening of Soviet-Chinese relations. A number of charges were levelled against the USSR: that the USSR "pursues a hegemonistic policy" and maintains huge "contingents of troops on the Chinese-Soviet and the Chinese-Mongolian border;" that it "supports Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea and its expansion in Indochina and Southeast Asia;" that "it has occupied by military force Afghanistan, which is a neighbor of China" (footnote 23: "Documents of the 12th All-China CPC Congress," p 64). The report says: All this creates serious dangers for peace in Asia and for China's security" (footnote 24: "Documents of the 12th All-China CPC Congress," p 64).

"Preconditions" are being raised demanding that the Soviet Union eliminate the above-mentioned "threats" against China's security. Attempts are being made to have the Soviet-Chinese consultations discuss not the main issues in the relations between the two countries, but these "preconditions" and the USSR's relations with third countries. All this does not contribute toward bringing about successes in the efforts to make progress in normalizing Soviet-Chinese relations, a fact which is sincerely desired by the Soviet side.

The socialist countries and the progressive public of the entire world are greatly interested in seeing the relations between the USSR and the PRC become normal, and they hail the fact that consultations are taking place between the two countries.

The Chinese leadership continues to pursue its old line of "differentiated" approach to the socialist countries, an approach aimed at weakening and disrupting their unity, at undermining the international positions of socialism.

At the 12th CPC Congress only three countries -- the DPRK, the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the SFRY -- were recognized as socialist. In keeping with Mao's "Theory of the Three Worlds" the socialist countries are arbitrarily listed in all three worlds: The USSR and the United States comprise the "first world"; the East European countries -- the Bulgarian People's Republic, the GDR, the Polish People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic and the CSSR -- are included in the "second world" together with the developed capitalist countries; China and the "friendly socialist countries" -- the DPRK, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the SFRY -- are listed in the third world (Beijing presumably counts the Mongolian People's Republic, the SRV, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Cuba as belonging to the "third world" without expressly saying so.)

In practice the Chinese leaders' "differentiated" policy manifests itself in the fact that certain socialist countries are subjected to pressure along all lines, they are subjected to provocations including armed provocations, they are threatened with "punishment" and so forth, whereas other socialist countries are offered proposals for developing mutual relations in all possible fields.

There is a third group which includes countries in all possible fields. This group includes countries such as the DPRK, the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the SFRY, with which the PRC maintains broad and comprehensive relations. Whatever nuances there may be in this approach, it is always accompanied by Beijing's strong desire to weaken the socialist countries' relations with the Soviet Union, to isolate the USSR and to undermine the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries.

The countries of the socialist community and their parties have adopted a principled position with regard to China. They have criticized and continue to criticize Maoism as a trend hostile to Marxism-Leninism, they exposed the excesses of the so-called "Cultural Revolution" and the harm which it inflicted -- mainly and foremost -- to the CPC and the Chinese people. They fought and continue to fight against the divisive activities of the Chinese leadership in the international communist movement and against its attempts to disunite the revolutionary forces in the world, they unmasked and continue to unmask Beijing's antisocialist and anti-Soviet activities in the international arena as well as the hegemonistic, expansionist nature of its foreign policy.

This approach and this criticism are aimed at protecting the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the general laws of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction, and all this helps in generalizing the historical lessons drawn from the development of socialism in the different countries and in defending real socialism against imperialist attacks and against various forms of opportunism and reactionary nationalism; they are motivated by solicitude for the fate of peace in the world.

The divergencies between the Soviet Union, the other fraternal countries and the Chinese leadership are not a thing of the moment and they are not based, as some people are trying to prove, on unsolved territorial, national, and other bilateral questions; they are of an important principled nature and pertain to basic tenets of the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement and of international relations. At the same time it must be strongly stressed that this attitude of the fraternal socialist countries and parties, including the BCP and the Bulgarian People's Republic, toward China, is imbued with a spirit of internationalism and friendship for the Chinese people and with a genuine desire to develop relations with the PRC.

We are deeply convinced that the basic interests of the peoples of China, the Soviet Union, and all socialist countries are not opposed to each other but are identical, and that these interests presuppose mutual relations marked by friendship and comradely cooperation. The way to achieve this is to overcome and reject Maoism, hegemonism, and anti-Sovietism and have China unshakably stand in the ranks of socialism and peace.

KHRISTOV, PRC AGRICULTURE VICE MINISTER MEET

AU271759 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgaria 1630 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade, has received in Plovdiv, Xiao Peng, Chinese vice minister of agriculture, animal husbandry and fishery, and chairman of the PRC side of the Joint Bulgarian-Chinese Commission for Scientific-Technical Cooperation. Issues pertaining to cooperation in the scientific-technical sphere and its importance for increasing trade were discussed.

LUKANOV MEETS SFRY'S IKONIC IN PLOVDIV

AU271950 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has met at the Plovdiv Fair Branislav Ikonic, president of the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly, who has arrived in Bulgaria.

DEFENSE MINISTER ADDRESSES MIKHAYLOVGRAD RALLY

AU261807 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Sep 83 p 2

[Address delivered by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, national defense minister and BCP Central Committee Politburo member, at festive rally held on 23 September in Mikhaylovgrad to mark the 60th anniversary of the September 1923 uprising]

[Excerpt] Comrades, the festive celebration of the 60th anniversary of the September uprising is an opportunity for us once more to look at the present-day situation on our troubled planet which is being shaken by violent class struggles.

There are still people in the world today which are waging life-and-death battles against the merciless fascist and imperialist dictatorships. An increasing number of countries and peoples are already proceeding along the path of this struggle; the positions of socialism in the world are becoming increasingly stronger, and the detachments of anti-imperialism are being progressively consolidated.

These victories are a cause of panic for the reactionary forces and they evoke provocative actions and threats on the part of the imperialists.

The worldwide reactionary forces are adopting steps to halt world progress. The United States has declared nearly the whole world as its "zone of vital interest" and has called on the Western countries to engage in a "crusade" against socialism. The NATO warmongers are preparing new deployment areas for the American "Pershing-2" and "cruise" missiles on the territories of Western Europe. The military budgets of the NATO member-countries have reached unprecedented amounts and monstrous provocations are being committed, as in the case of the flight of the South Korean airliner over USSR territory.

The socialist community member-countries which have adopted the struggle for the preservation of world peace and for the consolidation of detente, for the development of cooperation among the peoples throughout the world as the main goal of their foreign policy, are opposing this adventurous and anti-humanitarian policy.

This fact is confirmed by the peaceful initiatives submitted in the Prague declaration of the Warsaw Pact member-states and in the declaration adopted at the Moscow meeting of high-ranking party and state leaders from fraternal socialist countries, as well as by the proposals submitted by Yuriy Andropov on 26 August during an interview with a PRAVDA correspondent.

The loyal allied Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-countries, headed by the invincible Soviet Union, represent a reliable guarantee for the defense of universal peace.

The Bulgarian People's Army is a faithful class brother and comrade-in-arms of these forces, a worthy successor of the militant traditions and glory of the September uprising heroes and of all those who fought against monarcho-fascism and capitalism.

On the occasion of 23 September -- the militant holiday of the Bulgarian Army -- the soldiers and commanders of this Army are reviewing their combat ranks, and are assessing their achievements in combat and political training, as well as in their combat readiness and consolidation of the defensive power of our socialist motherland.

Under the wise leadership of the BCP -- the creator, organizer, and source of inspiration of the People's Army -- the Bulgarian soldiers are ready, at any moment if necessary, to take up the sacred combat in defense of our inviolable borders, in defense of the cause of peace and socialism.

INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT SEMINAR OPENS IN VARNA

AU271948 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Varna, September 27 (BTA) -- A seminar on the problems of the European transport infrastructure opened here today. Rudolf Guenter, member of the International Council for New East-West Cooperation Initiatives, opened the seminar.

Representatives of the governments, of business and scientific circles of the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Kuwait, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Bulgaria and five international organizations take part in the seminar.

The greetings address of the deputy-chairman of the Ministerial Council, Mr Andrey Lukanov, member of the Executive Committee of the International Council for New East-West Cooperation Initiatives, was read by the Bulgarian minister of transport, Mr Vasil Tsanov. It was underlined in it that the transport plays a decisive role for the realization and development both of the international economic cooperation and of communication between the peoples of different countries. The expansion and deepening of the mutually advantageous cooperation between the East and the West is an objective law.

We believe, it is stressed further in the greetings address, that the meeting will be a continuation of the useful dialogue between partners of the East and the West for discovering new initiatives and constructive recommendations to the competent bodies of the participating countries and the international organizations, aimed at the practical realization of the possibilities for developing the transport infrastructure in Europe.

A wide circle of questions pertaining to the seeking out of roads to promote further the transport infrastructure in Europe and to increasing the effectivity of passenger and cargo transportations will be discussed in the course of three days.

The transport needs of Europe, the inland waterways and ports, the long-term development of new kinds of transport and transport technologies, the combined transportation and [words indistinct] transport will be also subject to discussion.

FURTHER COMMENTARY ON REAGAN'S UNGA SPEECH

Nyvald Commentary

LD272348 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Editor Josef Nyvald commentary]

[Text] The well-known U.S. columnist Art Buchwald recently published a hypothetical discussion between prominent Washington political observers who discussed at a lunch who is actually the author of U.S. foreign policy today. Using the process of elimination, various observers, then the secretary of state and the representatives in the United Nations were ruled out. Finally they arrived at a conclusion which they found unbelievable: it is the U.S. President, Ronald Reagan, in spite of the fact that he knows nothing about foreign policy. This was such a frightening idea, Art Buchwald concludes, that none of us finished his salad.

After a few more days he probably cannot eat even the first course. President Reagan has shown in the meantime that Buchwald's conclusion is not quite a fantasy, and he confirmed that the reaction of the political observers is quite justifiable. The statesman who -- as he recently admitted -- sees James Bond as the greatest hero of world literature had to give up after a month in the White House the declaration of brinkmanship stances and attitudes befitting his idol, but he changed only his vocabulary. Along with his words on peace-making policy, he still carries out and promotes activity to secure world rule for America via gross military force regardless of the realities of the current world. The President's ambition and demagoguery grow in proportion with the increase in arms expenditure. After changing from speaking on the historical role of the United States in the crusade against communism, he first satisfied himself with declarations on good will and devotion to peace at press conferences. Gradually, however, he wanted a wider audience, so the United States went to the United Nations with ardent appeals to all the peoples. Never mind that the logic in his speeches is somewhat poor, that the real state of affairs is turned upside down, as in photography.

In the Saturday world appeal which the Voice of America brought nearer to the whole world in 42 languages, he showed yet again that the main problem is not in the translation of his words but in the ideas behind the words. To avoid a misunderstanding, he repeated it again at the rostrum of the UN General Assembly, perhaps trying to convince at least himself about the likelihood of the declared, countlessly repeated dogmas dominated by the alleged Soviet threat, the necessity to increase arms expenditure in the interest of peace and the attempts to find a human face in fascist regimes which are the closest allies of present-day America.

The Geneva talks on the limitation of strategic arms, to which the Reagan government was forced to agree after a year of delays, after rejecting everything positive that was attained in the past, are in this a false mirror, for the U.S. President the [word indistinct] document on the peace initiative of the United States. Also at the talks on the limitation of medium-range missiles in Europe the U.S. Administration allegedly wants progress. Successful results are hindered by what Reagan calls Soviet inflexibility. Flexibility for him is the enforcement of ideas which deform quite one-sidedly the principles of equality and equal security by purely U.S. interests. The new, loudly declared initiatives for the Geneva talks brought nothing positive. The effort to gain superiority at any price was only given a new form, after the zero and interim solutions. The bombastic talks are only to confuse public opinion and to cover up the real basis of the current U.S. policy. The Danish prince Hamlet had a very suitable saying for cases like this: "Words, words, words."

Nothing New in Speech

LD271908 Prague International Service in English 1630 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] The following comment deals with United States President Ronald Reagan's speech before the 38th United Nations General Assembly yesterday.

Ronald Reagan tried to make his speech resound with great praise of the work of the United Nations and as a message of peace. That was why he came up with so-called new proposals. What was the content of this speech, heralded beforehand by Western mass media as a completely new approach by the U.S. Government towards the very important question of disarmament?

To begin with, President Reagan spoke of the need to be guided by the ideals of all people and to put an end to the power struggle. He described nuclear weapons as the greatest threat to the present-day world and added that his administration is determined to prevent a further spread of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. These nice words really do concern the most urgent problems, but Reagan once again resorted to the so-called zero option, which he described as the best, most equitable, and most practical solution. The next part of his speech was full of big words, but only concerning the American approach to the Soviet-American talks on the limitation of medium-range nuclear arms in Europe. Ronald Reagan has no big words for the Soviet peace initiatives. What is then behind this much advertised so-called new approach on the part of the United States?

President Reagan singled out three basic points. He proposed so-called global ceilings, which in his words, would mean nondeployment of American missiles in Europe, but he added speedily that he reserves the right to station his missiles elsewhere. The American President also said that the United States desires more flexible negotiations in Geneva. And, thirdly, Reagan said that his administration is prepared to reduce the number of Pershing 2 ballistic missiles and cruise missiles.

In what lies the weakness of Reagan's words? In what respect is this proposal a played out melody? These are once again words only, nothing else but words. President Reagan failed to come out with a single concrete fact, with a single precise offer for the other side. He spoke about the possible lowest level of deployment of nuclear weapons, but he did not elaborate. He once again refused to consider British and French nuclear missiles at the American-Soviet talks in Geneva. He once again reserved for himself the right to make up for military lags if circumstances demand, to use his vocabulary. In addition, Reagan contradicted himself even in the question of uniting all nations under the peaceful solution to conflicts, for after these declarations Reagan sharply attacked the Soviet Union in connection with the South Korean airliner incident, and thus abused the United Nations rostrum for new provocations.

Similarly cynical were his attacks against Lebanon, Chad, El Salvador and other countries, which he accused of unleashing tensions and spreading death. He failed to mention direct U.S. involvement in these troubled regions, for it was more advantageous for Ronald Reagan to speak of the splendid objectives of the UN Charter, to which the United States is loyal, as he put it.

So what was really new in Reagan's speech before the United Nations? In the question of disarmament, he only repeated the so-called zero option. There was no change in the provocative tone against the Soviet Union, and U.S. troops remain in foreign countries. The novelty lies, perhaps in the higher dose of cynicism and demagoguery abundantly used in Reagan's speech before the 38th United Nations General Assembly.

Speech Termed 'Rhetoric'

LD271822 Prague CTK in English 1630 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] [Dateline and passage indistinct] to reduce armament is refuted by the fact that two days before his U.N. speech he signed a bill allocating a record 187,500 million dollars for armament in the 1984 fiscal year. This fact puts his statement where it belongs -- to the sphere of rhetoric.

His proclaimed willingness to agree on the limitation of medium-range missiles in Western Europe is entirely discredited by Reagan's statement that French and British weapons of this category remain aside. The strange offer of an agreement on global numbers of missiles is combined by Reagan with the U.S. reservation to deploy new missiles also in other parts of the world. This actually prepares another round of the arms race. In essence, President Reagan's speech in the United Nations confirmed the U.S. intention to deploy new nuclear weapons in Western Europe and possibly also elsewhere, weapons which American generals believe could give the United States military superiority and enable them to talk from a position of strength. The Soviet Union has clearly stated several times that this cannot succeed.

Reagan's U.N. Speech was a futile attempt to deceive the growing peace movement in the the United States and NATO countries, as well as most U.N. member-states.

CONTINUING REPORTAGE ON CHNOUPEK MOSCOW VISIT

For Soviet reportage of the visit to Moscow of Bohuslav Chnoupek, foreign minister of Czechoslovakia, for talks with Andrey Gromyko, Soviet foreign minister, including a PRAVDA report of a joint communique issued after the meeting, see the Eastern Europe section of the 26 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

DAILY ON AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION WITH USSR

AU271939 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Sep 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Bilaterally Advantageous Form of Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] Czechoslovak-Soviet economic and scientific-technical cooperation has reached a broad level. The value of the exchange of goods between the CSSR and the Soviet Union will amount to some R10 billion this year.

One of the latest fields of this mutually advantageous cooperation is the participation of Czechoslovak enterprises in the construction of agricultural-food projects within the framework of the Soviet comprehensive long-term goal-oriented Food Program, adopted by the CPSU Central Committee in May last year. Among the foreign enterprises to whom the appropriate Soviet organizations offered concrete orders are also a number of Czechoslovak enterprises.

The first orders include installations for the production of artificial fertilizer, above all, turn-key plants for the production of urea, and steam reforming installations for large-capacity ammonia plants; installations for post-harvest grain processing including floating pumping stations; agricultural veterinary chemicals, and a certain -- not large -- export of selection seeds. What is further involved are refrigerated transporters, medium-capacity food refrigeration units for large-volume fruit and vegetable warehouses, and other equipment.

In general, one could say that the centerpiece of the Czechoslovak participation in the realization of the Food Program is, above all, in orders pertaining to machinery installations for the agricultural-goods complex. In the Seventh 5-Year Plan, their share in our total engineering exports will be roughly 10 percent.

The invitation to cooperate in the realization of the Soviet Food Program brings advantages to our industry and to the entire economy. There is no doubt that all our citizens know what immense quantities of crude oil, natural gas, iron ore, and other raw materials, machinery and installations we import from the USSR every year. In respect to prices, reliability, and long-term prospects, these are unequivocally advantageous deliveries for us, for which we pay with our products. The participation in the realization of the Food Program expands the possibilities of our overall foreign trade further.

This can be documented by the example of Technoexport, one of our foreign trade organizations. It has concluded contracts on the delivery of 31 steam reforming installations, of which it has already expedited 14, and another contract is being prepared. It has also concluded contracts on the delivery of 14 urea production plants with a capacity of 1,000 tons per day. Installations in Grodno, Cherkassy, and Dneprodzerzhinsk are already in operation, and the fourth one will go into operation in Angarsk on the Baikal next year. And also in this sector, further contracts for deliveries in the Eighth 5-Year Plan are being prepared. All this is favorably projected into the production programs of the enterprises of the Chepos economic production unit, CKD Praha, automated and computer technology plants and others; all this ensures long-term prospects for employees of dozens and hundreds of plants. In a similar vein one could speak about the importance of the contracts of Technopol, Intersigma, and other foreign trade organizations.

INTERIOR MINISTER VAJNAR ARRIVES IN MOSCOW

LD261752 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Vratislav Vajnar, CSSR minister of the interior, arrived in Moscow by air today for a friendly working visit. During his stay he is to hold talks with representatives of the Committee for State Security of the USSR and the Ministry of the Interior about further cooperation in the sphere of the two fraternal countries' security policies.

CULTURE MINISTER MEETS WITH USSR'S DEMICHEV

LD261405 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Miroslav Valek, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and minister of culture of the Slovak Socialist Republic, was received in Moscow today by Petr Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture. They exchanged views on possibilities for the further development of Czechoslovak-Soviet cultural relations.

ETHIOPIAN GENERAL, DELEGATION WELCOMED BY BRABEC

LD212301 Prague CTK in English 1643 GMT 21 Sep 83

[Text] Prague -- Army General Wolde Hana, member of the Central Committee of the Commission for the Organizing of the Ethiopian Working People's Party (COPWE), head of the COPWE Central Committee department, and head of the Main Political Administration of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Socialist Ethiopia, arrived on Wednesday on an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia at the head of a delegation.

The guests were welcomed at the airport by Colonel General Antonin Brabec, head of the Main Political Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

The delegation will visit several units of the Czechoslovak People's Army to see the life of troops and the combat and political standard in the army.

Received by Dzur

LD241432 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 24 Sep 83

[Text] Army General Martin Dzur, minister of National Defense, today received in Prague Brigade General Gebreyes Wolde Hana, member of the Central Committee of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia, head of a department of the Party Central Committee and chief of the Main Political Directorate of the revolutionary Armed Forces of Socialist Ethiopia, who is in Czechoslovakia on a visit.

The two officials briefed each other on the building of socialism in their countries and on the activity of their armed forces, and expressed interest in further developing friendship and cooperation between the nations and armies of Czechoslovakia and Ethiopia.

'JOINT REPORT' ON TU DELEGATION VISIT TO JAPAN

AU191605 Prague PRACE in Czech 14 Sep 83 p 3

["Joint Report on the Visit of the Central Trade Union Council Delegation to Japan: In the Trade Unionists' Interests"]

[Text] A delegation of the Central Trade Union Council [URO], led by URO Chairman Karel Hoffmann, visited Japan on 4-10 September 1983 at the invitation of the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions (SOHYO). The other members of the delegation were URO Secretary Viliam Kozik and URO Presidium members Frantisek Vala, who is also chairman of the Central Committee of the railroad workers' trade union; and Josef Zaruba, who is also chairman of the Central Committee of the metallurgical workers' trade union.

In Japan the URO delegation visited the SOHYO and HURITSUOREN trade union centers and certain trade union organizations. The delegation also visited Hiroshima and Kyoto, where it met representatives of the SOHYO's regional organizations.

The URO delegation was received by Masashi Ichibashi, chairman of the Socialist Party of Japan; and by Minister of Labor Akira Ono. The URO delegation conducted negotiations with Takeshi Surokawa, SOHYO chairman; Eikichi Magara, SOHYO secretary general; and other SOHYO representatives. During the talks the delegations briefed each other on the development of the trade union movement of their countries and expressed satisfaction with the current development of contacts and cooperation between the two trade union organizations.

The two delegations agreed that in the current complicated international situation it is the duty of all progressive forces, and of the trade unions in particular, since they represent the broadest masses of the working people, to fight for peace, disarmament, and detente. It is particularly in this direction that it is necessary to actively work for consolidating international trade union solidarity.

The URO and SOHYO delegations stressed that the escalation of feverish armament is aimed against the most vital interests of working people throughout the world. At the same time they condemned the thesis of a so-called limited nuclear war, because any conflict would have a global nature and would mean a most serious threat to mankind's very existence. In this connection they spoke in favor of further continuing Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on limiting and reducing the levels of strategic arms. The delegations expressed the hope that the resolutions adopted by the UN Special Session on Disarmament would be fully implemented.

The two delegations also stressed that the trade unions should be increasingly active in pushing through the improvement of the working people's living standards, and resolutely act in the fight against unemployment, inflation, and all attempts to shift the consequences of the economic crisis to the working people's shoulders, as well as against the anti-trade union activities of supranational monopolies.

The URO and SOHYO delegations expressed their full support for, and solidarity with, the efforts of the working people and the people on all continents to win true freedom and national and economic independence, and to ensure social progress.

The negotiations of the two delegations were held in a constructive and friendly spirit. The representatives of the two organizations confirmed their resolve to continue deepening friendly contacts between the SOHYO and URO in the interests of working people and trade unionists of the two countries and throughout the world. The delegations appraised the possibility of further cooperation between the two organizations and expressed their common interest in developing it, also by exchanging various delegations.

The URO delegation invited the delegation of the SOHYO trade union center, led by its chairman and secretary general, to visit Czechoslovakia. This invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Negotiations of the URO Delegation

During its stay in Japan, the URO delegation, headed by URO Chairman Comrade K. Hoffmann, met the leading representatives of the HURITSUOREN trade union center, headed by Toshifumi Tateyama, chairman of the organization. During their talks the HURITSUOREN representatives provided information about the initiative of a number of Japanese trade union organizations, led by HURITSUOREN, in the sphere of unifying the Japanese trade union movement. The URO delegation provided information on the current activity and main tasks of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. During the talks it was stressed that the trade unions, as the largest mass organization of working people, must contribute yet more intensively toward consolidating the world peace.

The two delegations expressed interest in deepening mutual contacts and cooperation in the coming period. The URO delegation invited an official HURITSUOREN delegation to visit the CSSR. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

During its stay in Japan, the URO delegation also met the leading representatives of those trade union organizations that are WFTU members: the UNYUIPPAN trade Union of transport workers; the KENSETSUIPPAN-ZENNIHIYIRO trade union of construction and unskilled workers; the KOKKOROREN trade union of workers in public services; the IROKYO trade union of medical service workers; the NIKKOKYO trade union of secondary school teachers; and the ZENKENRO trade union of construction workers, headed by WFTU Politburo member Tsoshu Nakanishi.

In a friendly talk they assessed the issues of the further activities of Japanese trade unions within the framework of the WFTU and (MOS), of which they are members, and discussed possibilities for deepening cooperation with the appropriate unions in the CSSR.

SLOVAK DAILY INTERVIEWS AUSTRIA'S BENYA ON VISIT

AU150714 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 10 September carries on page 2 a 400-word text of the interview given by Anton Benya, chairman of Austria's National Council and head of the Austrian parliamentary delegation which stayed in the CSSR on an official visit from 5 to 9 September, to Slovak PRAVDA editor Bedrich Zagar; date and place of the interview are not given.

Asked about his impressions during the visit, Benya notes the diverse contacts which the delegation was able to make with CSSR personalities in the political, economic, and trade-union spheres, and which helped it to see the picture of life in the CSSR; he calls the delegation's impressions of the visited plants "outstanding."

In speaking of the "main purpose of mutual contacts and meetings," Benya underscores that Austria, as a neutral country, "wants to have good relations with as many countries as possible, and particularly with its neighbors," adding: "In recent years our mutual contacts have intensified, and this trend should continue." After noting the CSSR people's efforts to build cities, beautify their homes, and improve their living environment, Benya asks: "Can one let these efforts of millions of people throughout the world be destroyed in a war conflict? I am an optimist," he says, "and my colleagues with me; we hope that it will be possible to achieve positive results and to avert the danger of war. It is gratifying that during our visit we were able to receive the news, together with our Czechoslovak friends, that the Madrid meeting had ended successfully. Together we expressed the hope that the Geneva negotiations, too, would contribute toward a further international detente."

Benya then assesses the visit to the CSSR as "fruitful" and expressed the "wish that our mutual relations will continue to develop successfully. We invited a delegation of Czechoslovak deputies to visit Austria and we are looking forward to the opportunity of again welcoming them in our country.

AFGHAN ENERGY MINISTER ENDS VISIT, COMMENTS

LD261827 Prague CTK in English 1640 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Prague -- Czechoslovakia's experiences are of a great importance for Afghanistan, a country at the beginning of its development, Afghan Energy Minister Raz Mohammad Paktin has told CETKA at the end of his week-long visit to Czechoslovakia. He appreciated the all-round assistance Afghanistan is given by the socialist countries.

During his visit, the minister got acquainted with the work of the state energy distribution centre and the central distribution organization of the CMEA member-states in Prague. He also had talks with representatives of engineering enterprises, with Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Ladislav Gerle and Minister of Fuels and Energy Vlastimil Ehrenberger.

Minister Paktin said that 90 per cent of diesel generators used in the electrification of Afghan rural regions come from Czechoslovakia.

Under a contract with the Brno engineering enterprise, Afghanistan prepares the construction of a thermal power plant. He added that at the international engineering fair in Brno he saw small turbines suitable for Afghan mountain rivers, and that there are good prospects for cooperation in the sphere of science and technology.

STROUGAL RECEIVES NUCLEAR POWER DELEGATION

LD280228 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, received in the Hrzan Palace today the heads of delegations taking part in the Ninth Session of the Inter-Governmental Commission for Coordination of Cooperation in the Production of Equipment for Nuclear Power Stations. Comrade Lubomir Strougal highly appreciated the meritorious work and activity of the intergovernmental commission and the importance of the activity for the construction of nuclear power stations in Czechoslovakia. He expressed a conviction that its ninth session will be a stimulus for improving cooperation in the production of equipment for nuclear power stations and said that Czechoslovakia is prepared to fulfill in this sphere its pledges and tasks.

The chairman of the intergovernmental commission, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Aleksey Antonov, informed the chairman of the Federal Government about the topical and future tasks and aims in the sphere of nuclear power stations equipment. He stressed in this connection the continuously growing roles which these power producing works have and will have in extending the power production base of the CECA countries.

LENART ON YOUTH ROLE IN SLOVAKIAN DEVELOPMENT

LD221007 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 21 Sep 83

[Text] The Slovak-wide aktiv of representatives of selected organizations of the Socialist Youth Union dealt at its session in Bratislava today with the participation of young people in the accelerated, practical application of scientific and technological findings in pursuance of the resolution of the 8th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee and the session of the CPSL Central Committee.

Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, explained the basic reasons why the highest party bodies pay so much attention to the accelerated practical application of scientific and technological findings. He said that newly developing needs and opportunities in particular were the objective reason and dictated the inevitability of a better use of this key element in the intensification of our national economy. He said that by better utilization of science and technology we not only can, but objectively must, increase the participation of Slovakia in the creation of the Czechoslovak national income.

HONECKER, STOPH GREET KING OF SAUDI ARABIA

AU261516 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND In German 23 Sep 83 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, GDR State Council chairman, has sent a telegram of congratulations to Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Sa'ud, king of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, on the occasion of the national holiday of Saudi Arabia.

The telegram states that the GDR pursues with interest the successful economic development of Saudi Arabia and its striving to persevere and strengthen its national independence. Erich Honecker expresses his conviction that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is thus making an important contribution to a peaceful development in the Gulf region and in the Middle East.

On the same occasion Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, has sent a telegram to 'Abdallah ibn al-'Aziz, crown prince of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

CHILDREN EXEMPT FROM MINIMUM EXCHANGE LEVY

LD271427 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1355 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Berlin, 27 Sep (ADN) -- Wolfgang Meyer, the press spokesman for the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, announced on being questioned by press representatives that beginning 27 September 1983, children from nonsocialist countries who have not reached the age of 14 are absolved from the minimum exchange levy on entry into the GDR.

15 SEP ISSUANCE OF EMIGRATION DECREE REPORTED

LD271731 Hamburg DPA in German 1336 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] East Berlin, 27 Sep (DPA) -- The GDR has issued a decree on questions pertaining to family reunification and marriage between GDR citizens and foreigners, among whom citizens of the Federal Republic are also classed, together with corresponding regulations on its implementation. The orders will come into force on 15 October, while their date of issue is given as 15 September.

According to the decree, permission for "change of address to abroad," as emigration is referred to, can be granted for the "reunification of parents and their minor children, whom they have a right to raise" if the parents or children live abroad. This also applies to single [unmarried] children who are of age, or to parents who, because of their physical or mental state of health, want to go to the residence of their parents or children for care."

Permission to emigrate can also be granted to reunite married couples if the marriage was concluded "with the approval of the relevant state organs," or if one spouse has "taken up residence abroad" with the permission of the authorities. Permission can be withheld if it infringes the "rights of citizens and other social interests of the GDR," if for example "because of the work carried out by the applicant, his emigration would be detrimental to the care and welfare of GDR citizens." Permission "must be refused," according to one of the regulations, if emigration is against GDR interests, "particularly with regard to protecting public order and its security," or if an "applicant is carrying out military service or a service in lieu of military service and the period laid down by the appropriate state organs has not yet expired.

FRG PARLIAMENTARY LEADER RECEIVED BY WEICHELT

LD201628 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1410 GMT 20 Sep 83

[Text] Berlin, 20 Sep (ADN) -- The chairman of the GDR People's Chamber Constitution and Law Committee, Prof Dr Wolfgang Weichelt, on Tuesday received the parliamentary business manager of the FDP group in the FRG Bundestag, Torsten Wolfgramm, for a discussion in the People's Chamber. Prof Dr Wolfgang Weichelt briefed the guest on the work of the Constitution and Law Committee. He explained in particular the work of the deputies of the People's Chamber on behalf of the voters in the preparation, adoption, and implementation of laws.

In an open and frank exchange of views on questions of relations between the two German states and the present international situation, the two politicians agreed that everything must be done to prevent a new round in the nuclear arms race and to get international relations back onto a normal track of detente. In the consolidation of international trust, the political dialogue between representatives of states with different social systems plays an important role. Prof Dr Wolfgang Weichelt and Torsten Wolfgramm spoke out in this respect for a continuation of the contacts between the deputies of the GDR People's Chamber and the FRG bundestag.

NEGOTIATIONS ON CULTURAL AGREEMENT WITH FRG

AU251609 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Sep 83 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On 20 September 1983 negotiations on an agreement between the Government of the GDR and the Government of the FRG concerning cooperation in the fields of culture and science were resumed in the GDR capital of Berlin. The delegation of the GDR is headed by Kurt Nier, GDR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and the FRG delegation by Hans Otto Braeutigam, head of the Permanent Representation of the FRG in the GDR.

It was agreed to continue the negotiations at the beginning of November.

ARMY DELEGATION ENDS VISIT TO AUSTRIA

LD232231 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0937 GMT 23 Sep 83

[Text] Vienna, 23 Sep (ADN) -- A GDR National People's Army (NVA) Delegation, headed by the deputy minister of defense and head of the Main Staff of the NVA, Colonel General Fritz Streletz, ended its visit to Austria on Friday. The delegation visited troop units and teaching institutions of the Austrian Federal Army, during which there were numerous meetings with members of the Federal Army. The Austrian minister of defense, Friedhelm Frischenschlager, and Federal Army generals and other senior officers attended a reception given in honor of the delegation by the GDR ambassador, Dr Horst Grunert.

At the end of his stay, Col Gen Streletz expressed his thanks for the hospitality shown and for the opportunity to visit Austria. He stressed the usefulness of friendly relations between Austria and the GDR in the interests of security and of ensuring peace in Europe.

After a solemn military ceremony the NVA delegation was seen off at Vienna-Schwechat Airport by the inspector general of the Austrian Federal Army, General Heinz Scharff.

SINDERMANN RECEIVES SEJM DEPUTIES 20 SEP

AU252209 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Sep 83 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On Tuesday Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber and SED Central Committee Politburo member, received a study delegation of the Commission for Health and Physical Culture of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic headed by its deputy chairman Zbigniew Kledecki. At the friendly and cordial meeting Horst Sindermann stressed the significance of the constant exchange of experiences between the supreme people's representations of the community of socialist states which offers many possibilities for strengthening friendship and mutual understanding. Zbigniew Kledecki praised the manifold relations which are developing between the two states and to which the deputies contribute. During its stay, the delegation will study questions concerning spas and health resorts in the GDR.

BRIEFS

SPORTS DELEGATION IN PRC -- Beijing, 27 Sep (ADN) -- A sports delegation from the GDR headed by Manfred Ewald, president of the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation (DTSB), arrived in Beijing on Tuesday at the invitation of the State Physical Culture and Sport Commission of the People's Republic of China. The delegation is to discuss issues connected with bilateral cooperation and the Olympic and international sports movement with the minister of the Physical Culture and Sports Commission, Li Menghua. They will also visit competitions of the Fifth All-Chinese Sports Games in Shanghai. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0920 GMT 27 Sep LD]

COOPERATION WITH PRC AGENCY -- The heads of the GDR and the PRC news agencies have declared that they will increase their contacts as well as the exchange of news and photos on the basis of the treaty on cooperation concluded between ADN and XINHUA in 1958. This is noted by the Chinese agency in a report on a meeting which took place between Mu Qing, general director of XINHUA, and Rolf Schabliniski, first deputy general director of ADN. A delegation of ADN is at present visiting the PRC at the invitation of XINHUA. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Sep 83 p 2 AU]

TRADE TALKS WITH ALBANIA -- Dietrich Lemke, deputy minister for foreign trade, met with Dimiter Karanzha, charge d'affaires of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and economic representatives of Albania. The partners in the talk discussed this year's results of the goods exchange between the two countries as well as questions of the trade relations in 1984. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Sep 83 p 3 AU]

BEZIRK AGRICULTURAL RESULTS -- The Dresden Bezirk SED Executive Board yesterday discussed the results attained in the implementation of the decisions of the 10th party congress and the peasants congress. Dresden Bezirk has an agricultural area of 410,200 hectares. The bezirk achieved a good grain harvest, and the targets in other crops were also attained. "Some concern is caused by the potato harvest. Potato yields are not what we planned on. Every measure has been taken to ensure that potatoes remain in the field." The state plan will be fulfilled, and Dresden Bezirk will "make potatoes available to other bezirke as well." So far potatoes have been harvested from about 60 percent of the acreage, and the lifting of the sugar beets has begun. Regarding livestock production, some LPG's still show excessive animal losses. [Summary] [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 20 Sep 83 DW]

U.S. STATEMENTS 'QUESTION EUROPEAN STATUS QUO'

AU271050 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Sep 83 p 2

[Peter Sereny article: "A New 'Europe Doctrine?'"]

[Text] Strange remarks have been made by the White House, responsible U.S. Administration representatives, and some legislators on the status of Europe in general recently. A common feature of these pronouncements is the fact that, openly expressing it, they question the European status quo, meaning the sociopolitical geography of continent that has developed following World War II. By this, they, in fact, advocate a revision of the Helsinki Final Act, which was signed by the then President of the United States as well. The fact that remarks of various U.S. statesmen in this respect are conspicuously consonant creates the impression that we are witnessing the taking shape of a new doctrine.

The division of Europe is unnatural and inhuman today and that is what it always has been -- this is what is being said. In approaching the problems of the area, U.S. policy is guided by some constant factors. The first of these is the fact that it does not recognize any legitimate division of Europe. The Helsinki process -- we have read this as well -- is a historical effort to "undermine" the brutal division of East and West Europe. Accordingly, they turn against those who are of the opinion that Helsinki confirms the status quo, the present division of Europe. They declare that they reject this view. Such a statement was made by Secretary of State Shultz at the Madrid meeting 2 weeks ago and by Vice President Bush in his political lecture in Vienna this week.

We have been witnessing the fact for years that U.S. foreign policy is trying to transfer the duel of ideals, which is a natural aspect of the different nature of social systems, to the medium of the system of interstate relations. They would now like to assert this endeavor in Europe as well, in a manner which may endanger the stability of our continent -- which is, following two world wars, living in peace at last -- as a whole. This stability is based not only on the settlement that took place after World War II, recognition of the European borders that developed at the time, but also on an acknowledgement of the sociopolitical realities that have crystallized within these borders. The Helsinki Final Act (with regard to the principles laid down on sovereignty, refraining from the use of force, the inviolability of borders, and nonintervention in domestic affairs) is based, item for item, on recognition of the European status quo.

However, a re-examination of this is inadmissible not only because of its destabilizing nature. It is unacceptable also because raising the issue this way would further deepen the division of Europe, the consequences of which -- as Franz-Josef Strauss also declared recently -- can only be mitigated by a more favorable international atmosphere and world situation. Of course, this "division" is an undoubted fact in the sense that countries with different social structures do live together on the continent. Nevertheless, the term calls for quotation marks. One can only speak of a division of the continent in a confrontational sense if a system of relations of normal cooperation, which is simply inconceivable without a certain minimum of trust and a sense of security, does not obtain. And questioning of the European status quo can only make an impact in the opposite direction.

What will become of this trust and sense of security amidst the proclaimed "undermining" of European realities? What will become of this trust and sense of security in the practice of a policy that means a distorted presentation of different socialist countries and playing them off against each other by means of differentiation?

As far as the status quo is concerned: The Warsaw Pact -- whose members, including our country, have called NATO's attention to so many proposals on peaceful cooperation and negotiations in recent months -- undoubtedly guarantees and will continue to guarantee that the European realities, which are laid down in appropriate agreements as well, will be respected. As for calculations aimed at playing off the socialist countries against each other, they are -- to put it mildly -- built on sand. It is a fact that there are considerable differences among the socialist countries, (and, incidentally, among the capitalist countries as well) in the economic and cultural areas and with regard to tasks connected with socialist development and ways and means for accomplishing them. However, those who think that our unity can be undermined by distorting them and by adding untruths to them is making a profound miscalculation, because that which divides us from each other is considerably less than that which is common for us, the builders of a new society.

We, on our part, are striving in our dialogue for a decent relationship of partnership with countries of different social structures, serving peace and security as well as in mutually beneficial cooperation. However, the basis of this partnership can only be both sides' acceptance of the other for what it is, along with its different social system and commitment of alliance arising from this.

MAGYAR HIRLAP COMMENTS ON 38TH UNGA SESSION

LD271302 Budapest MTI in English 1021 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI) -- Discussing the 38th meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, the leading article in Tuesday's "MAGYAR HIRLAP" attaches importance to two proposals "which -- although they were not put forward at the UN -- affect the work of the world organization directly."

The first one is Madame Indira Gandhi's appeal to a large number of chiefs of state and prime ministers to attend the session of the General Assembly in September. Their presence in New York paves the way for "consultations about acute international political and economic questions. In case several countries are represented in New York at top level, it is expected to help defuse tension. The initiative was welcomed in Hungary and Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, has left for the seat of the UN.

"The other proposal has been submitted and adopted recently at the United States Senate, and it is of an opposite nature where its aim is concerned. Under the resolution the United States is going to drastically, with over a fifth of the present sum, reduce its contribution to the UN budget. Moreover, there is more to it than reducing financial support. That U.S. authorities have hindered Andrey Gromyko's visit New York is tantamount to hindering the work of the United Nations itself. However, the majority of nations -- including Hungary -- prefer striving for the strengthening of the UN in the spirit of Madame Gandhi's proposal to attempting to reduce its capabilities."

LOSONCZI ADDRESSES UNOFFICIAL UN SUMMIT MEETING

LD280844 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 28 Sep 83

[Text] Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council, spoke at the unofficial summit initiated by the Indian head of government at the UN Headquarters. In his speech Pal Losonczi emphasized the necessity of disarmament, noting that the increasing pressing problems of the world economy can be solved only in conditions of international peace and security. Pal Losonczi met with Austrian Chancellor Sinowatz in New York, and also participated in the gala lunch organized by the Indian head of government in honor of the heads of governments who are staying in New York.

FOREIGN MINISTER MEETS PRC FOREIGN MINISTER AT UN

LD280221 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] The Hungarian minister of foreign affairs has continued his talks in New York, the seat of the UN. Peter Varkonyi met the Chinese minister of foreign affairs and later he held exchanges of views with the heads of the Indonesian and Cuban diplomatic services about bilateral relations the development of international events. The Hungarian minister of foreign affairs is attending the autumn session of the UN General Assembly in New York.

Meets Polish Foreign Minister

LD270 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Hungarian-Polish foreign ministerial talks have taken place in New York. Both Peter Varkonyi and Stefan Olszowski went to New York for the session of the UN General Assembly.

POLISH PRICE COMMISSION DELEGATION DEPARTS

LD241836 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 24 Sep 83

[Text] Budapest, September 24 (MTI) -- A delegation of the Polish State Price Commission, headed by Minister Zdzislaw Krasinski, chairman of the State Price Commission, which had visited Hungary on the invitation of Bela Csikos Nagy, president of the Hungarian National Office for Material and Price, left Budapest Saturday. In the course of talks the parties discussed current issues of price policy, agricultural state purchase prices, the price of the industrial products used by the agriculture, the price of industrial products, and consumer prices. The delegation also studied the operation of economic associations. Lajos Faluvegi, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers and president of the National Planning Office, met the delegation.

PPF-PRON COOPERATION AGREEMENT SIGNED 25 SEP

LD261113 Budapest MTI in English 1900 GMT 25 Sep 83

[Text] Budapest, September 25 (MTI) -- By signing a cooperation agreement, the visit of a delegation of Polish Patriotic Movement for Revival (PRON) to Hungary concluded Sunday. The delegation, headed by PRON president, author Jan Dobraczynski, and Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, visited Hungary on the invitation of the National Council of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front (PPF). The agreement, signed by Marian Orzechowski and Imre Pozsgay, general secretary of the PPF National Council, envisages the exchange visits of delegations, the exchange of information and working cooperation in the period of [words indistinct] After a sight-seeing tour of Budapest, the PRON delegation left Budapest in the afternoon.

POLISH DEPUTY PREMIER MALINOWSKI ARRIVES 27 SEP

LD272005 Warsaw PAP in English 1713 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Budapest 27 Sept -- Polish Deputy Prime Minister Roman Malinowski arrived in Hungary today for talks with his Hungarian counterpart Jozsef Marjai. The two are going to discuss tightening of Polish-Hungarian cooperation in farming. Malinowski is accompanied by Minister for Farming and (?Food) Making Industry Stanislaw Zieba, Vice-Minister Stanislaw Szczepanski of that same ministry, and a group of experts.

MSZMP CC SECRETARY HAVASI RECEIVES BCP'S TSANOV

LD271311 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Ferenc Havasi, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, has received in Budapest Vasilev Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee. At the talks they informed each other about the most important tasks facing the two parties and discussed ways for the development of Hungarian-Bulgarian party cooperation.

GOPEL-LED SED CC DELEGATION PAYS VISIT

LD231115 Budapest MTI in English 1022 GMT 23 Sep 83

[Text] Budapest, September 23 (MTI) -- A delegation of party workers of the German Socialist Unity Party Central Committee, led by Helmut Copel, deputy head of department at the party Central Committee, visited Hungary, September 18-22, on the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee and studied the HSWP's economic work. Laszlo Karakas, member of the HSWP CC and head of department at the CC, met the delegation.

CSSR FINANCE MINISTER LER CONCLUDES VISIT

LD280132 Budapest MTI in English 1734 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI) -- Leopold Ler, minister of finance of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, paid an official visit to Hungary from September 25 to 27.

Istvan Hetenyi, Hungarian minister of finance and Leopold Ler discussed the current state and the opportunities for the further development of Hungarian-Czechoslovak economic and financial relations.

Ferenc Havasi, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, and Lajos Faluvegi, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and president of the National Planning Office, held talks with the Czechoslovak minister of finance.

Leopold Ler left Budapest Tuesday.

DIE PRESSE: POLICE MALTREAT SOCIOLOGIST DEMSZKY

AU271222 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 27 Sep 83 p 2

[Text] According to statements from Vienna emigre circles, Hungarian sociologist Gabor Demszky allegedly was so seriously maltreated by Budapest police that he had to be hospitalized over the weekend.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY DENOUNCES BUSH'S VIENNA REMARKS

LD270932 Warsaw PAP in English 0714 GMT 27 Sep 83

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw 27 Sept -- ZYCIE WARSZAWY today denounced the address that U.S. Vice-President George Bush made while on a visit to Vienna on Sept. 21 as being in no way different from the worn-out theories which had always marked the U.S. attitude to the East European states as "a function of the global U.S. attitude to the USSR." The daily's Ewa Boniecka wrote that the global interests of the United States, including a global confrontation with the USSR, had always been "an overriding factor" in the U.S. bilateral ties with individual socialist states, including Poland.

The newspaper assailed Vice-President Bush for wheeling forth "a dangerous political demagoguery" in his interpretation of the development and history of Russia, the Yalta Conference and the CSCE Final Act. In the daily's opinion Bush's Vienna doctrine demonstrates nothing essentially new except "intellectual and political arrogance" and signifies "another perilous symptom of the confrontative and openly cold-war foreign policy course pursued by the Reagan administration, which poses a real threat to peace in Europe."

INTERPRESS COMMENTS ON REAGAN'S UN SPEECH

LD271549 Warsaw PAP IN English 1446 GMT 27 Sep 83

["Cold War Mentality" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw 27 Sept -- "Delegates (to the U.N.) with long tenure and good memories must have recalled the times of John Foster Dulles, the U.S. secretary of state from the 1950s, for whom everything which was not pro-American was of the red colour," wrote Krzysztof Wojna, a commentator of the INTERPRESS news agency, referring to the U.N. speech delivered by President Ronald Reagan yesterday.

"This mentality, typical of the past but, it seems, not very distant period of history, was particularly conspicuous in the President's critical remarks addressed at the Non-aligned Movement," Wojna went on. "But the assembly focused its interest above all on the most important issue in U.S.-Soviet relations, ie. that of the Geneva talks on Eurostrategic missiles," the commentator noted and said that the U.S. President was only ready to accept solutions which could truly change the insipid nature of the Geneva talks. "The Americans still want to play the issue of Euromissiles on their own terms," he added.

OLSZOWSKI, JABLONSKI MEET WITH UN DELEGATES

Olszowski Meetings

LD271959 Warsaw PAP in English 1429 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] New York 27 Sept -- Poland's minister of foreign affairs, Stefan Olszowski, now staying in New York in connection with the 38th session of the UN General Assembly, has held talks with Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi which centered on issues connected with works of the present UN session and bilateral relations between the two countries. Minister Olszowski also met with Belgium's foreign minister, Leo Tindemans. The two discussed issues of Polish-Belgian relations and reiterated the purposefulness and usefulness of such meetings, and also voiced readiness to continue them.

Jablonski Meets With Austrian

LD271955 Warsaw PAP in English 1420 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] New York 27 Sept -- President of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski, staying here at the invitation of Indira Gandhi to take part in multilateral meetings of heads of states and prime ministers scheduled for this week and devoted to a discussion of international situation, met Austrian Federal Chancellor Fred Sinowatz yesterday. The meeting, the first in a series of bilateral contacts, was attended by Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski. The sides stated that the issue of securing peace and European security is of essential importance for both Poland and Austria. They voiced concern over the dangerous rise in tension worldwide. They emphasized particular importance of bringing disarmament negotiations to a successful end and diminishing nuclear arms stockpiles. Lowering the level of military equilibrium would play a great role in a return to normal international relations.

Poland and Austria intend to develop bilateral political, economic, cultural and other relations and enrich them. The sides expressed satisfaction at the celebration in both countries of the 300th anniversary of Vienna relief. The Polish side stressed its readiness to shape correct relations with all states and pointed at the difficulties in this area posed by economic restrictions imposed by the United States.

Henryk Jablonski's stay in New York at the invitation of Indira Gandhi testifies to recognition for Poland's important role in questions of peace, security and disarmament. The acceptance of the invitation proves Poland's concern for the development of international situation. Henryk Jablonski's New York visit is also a clear evidence that attempts at isolating Poland in the international forum are becoming the past.

The first session of the meeting of heads of states and government was held today at the UN seat, organized on the initiative of India's Premier Indira Gandhi who is chairman of the Movement of the Non-aligned Countries. The second session of the same meeting is to be held on Thursday. The session was attended by Poland's president of the Council of State, Henryk Jablonski. Judging from the statement made by Indira Gandhi, the talks will centre on the issue of prevention of the danger of armaments and on activities designed to reach agreement on full and universal disarmament.

Professor Henryk Jablonski yesterday held a working meeting here with heads of Polish diplomatic, consular and trade missions accredited to the U.S., to discuss issues connected with the U.S. Administration's stand vis-a-vis Poland. The participants in the meeting evaluated the state of Polish-American bilateral relations in various fields and informed the president of the Council of State on the work of Polish missions in the present situation.

CARDINAL GLEMP ARRIVES IN ROME 27 SEPTEMBER

LD280110 Warsaw PAP in English 2032 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Rome 27 Sep (PAP) -- Poland's Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp arrived here on board a LOT Polish airliner today to take part in the world synod of bishops, scheduled to start here September 29. Cardinal Glemp is accompanied by Krakow Metropolitan Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, Bishop Alfons Nossol of Opole, and Bishop Suffragan Stanislaw Smolenski of Krakow.

In a short statement for the press, the Polish primate said work is going on at a high rate on a draft law on the farming development fund, which is being elaborated by Polish state and church commissions. He described the atmosphere in the Poland as more relaxed and said it is certainly more calm in his country but added that certainly there are points of dispute.

ORZECZOWSKI POLEMIC ON SCHAFF PUBLISHED

AU251932 Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish August 1983 pp 5-28

[Article by Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee secretary: "The Dispute About the Marxist Theory of Revolution"; this article is part of a book now in printing, which deals, among other things, with the problems of the Polish road to socialism -- NOWE DROGI editorial note]

[Text] "Russia has not reached the level of development of production forces that makes socialism possible. All the knights of the International...regard this statement with great caution. They continue to digest this indisputable statement in a thousand and one ways and assume that it is of decisive significance in evaluating our revolution."

These words come to one's mind when studying A. Schaff's most recent statements in the TU I TERAZ weekly and in Polish scientific periodicals ("Marxism Today" in STUDIA FILOZOFICZNE, Issue No 3, 1983). These statements were made on the present state of Marxist theory, on socialist revolution, the countries of real socialism, and the road traversed by Poland since 1944.

A. Schaff's most recent statement for Polish readers is a watered-down version of his ideas contained in an extensive work of over 220 pages which was published in Vienna in 1982 under the title of "Die Kommunistische Bewegung am Scheideweg" ("The Communist Movement at a Crossroads"). A. Schaff presents himself in this book as a "Marxist," "a deeply convinced Marxist," "an open Marxist," "a communist full of concern for the movement to which he belongs," "a Communist dissident," a resolute critic of "real socialism," and an adherent of Eurocommunism, which to him is the chance and hope of real socialism. It is no accident that Manuel Azcarate, member of the PCE leadership and a leading theoretician of Eurocommunism, wrote an enthusiastic introduction to A. Schaff's book. Azcarate lauds Schaff's "Marxist theories, which undoubtedly belong to the most significant in our times" and which were greatly "enriched" in his book in question. That leading theoretician of Eurocommunism awards special praise to the "serious and profound criticism of 'real socialism,' that was made from the viewpoint of Marxist and communist principles and in the name of the principles of freedom, equality, and justice." Adopting the pose of the only authorized interpreter of the ideas of the classics, Azcarate proclaims that "today there can be no development of Marxism without a criticism of 'real socialism'" (pp 8-9) and in this boundless criticism of real socialism sees the basic virtue of Schaff's work. It was in this way that a logical sequence was created: Adam Schaff -- an "open Marxist" who has returned to the "sources" -- lauds the basic theses of Eurocommunism, which, according to him, constitutes a crucial enrichment of Marxism and rehabilitates its nature, which was partially distorted by Lenin (in the case of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for example!) and primarily by Stalin. Manuel Azcarate regards Schaff not only as an ideological ally, but primarily as a theoretician who knows by his own experience the theory and practice of real socialism. That is why his criticism of socialism is to supply the Eurocommunists with valuable and credible arguments. This is how the circle was closed.

The leading idea of all Schaff's publications is the thesis that the problems facing the socialist countries, especially Poland, in the past and now, can be explained by the "original sin" of the implementation of socialism -- that is, implementation without the necessary objective and subjective conditions as listed by Marx and Engels, and by the activities of Marxists in defiance of Marxist theory ("Marxism Today", p 12).

Lenin polemized with such views as long as 60 years ago:

"You say that we need civilization to create socialism. Excellent. But why were we forbidden to create in our country such preconditions for civilization as driving the landowners and capitalists from Russia so as to be able to begin our march to socialism? In what books did you read that such modifications to the normal order of history are inadmissible or impossible?"

A. Schaff makes no secret of some of the titles and authors of the books "in which he read such things." He refers mainly to one book -- to "German Ideology" written by Marx and Engels in 1845-46. He also refers in a general way to A. Gramsci.

Around "German Ideology"

"It is a truism to state," Schaff writes, "that it is an anti-Marxist action to change the character of socialist revolution when the necessary objective and subjective conditions are absent, even if such changes are made by the communist parties in the name of Marxism-Leninism.... Marx was very severe insofar as the objective conditions necessary for the success of socialist revolution were concerned ("The Communist Movement at a Crossroads," p 174).

Schaff uses "German Ideology" or rather an excerpt from it, which was torn out of a broader context and was suitably manipulated, as the chief argument to support the aforementioned statement and to attack the crisis-ridden Marxists and their Marxism-Leninism. The classics were distorted in two ways: Their one work and that one excerpt from their work were turned into something that stands absolutely on its own, and evaluations and notions that are not present in the original text were ascribed to the classics. Only in this manipulated manner could they have become witnesses for the prosecution in the trial against real socialism and only in this way could the "letter" of Marxism have been turned into a weapon against the "spirit" and revolutionary and antidogmatic nature of Marxism.

Citing "German Ideology" it is worth recalling its place and role in the development of Marxist thought. "German Ideology," which was written in 1845-46 (and not in 1847 as Schaff writes), constituted, according to Engels, a "reckoning" with his and Marx's "philosophical conscience" and was produced in a situation when the communists had "to clarify their views among themselves, above all" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 4, p 22)

"German Ideology" was primarily a "polemical work against German philosophy and against previous German socialism." (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 27, p 522)

The spearhead of "German Ideology" was directed against "various social charlatans," who were outside the workers movement, who looked for support among the classes of the "enlightened ones," and who were aware of the social plagues created by capitalism, but who believed that these plagues could be eliminated "with the help of various universal medicines and all kinds of makeshift measures, without doing any harm at all to capitalism and profit...." (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 22, p 66).

Idealism, voluntarism, and a boundless faith in the miraculous power of ideas were the most crucial features of their philosophical and political attitude. Instead of examining the situation in Germany, they developed a general view about it and on the basis of this they concluded what progress, development, and measures were necessary and feasible for it. Instead of trying to clearly understand the complicated relationships among the individual classes...and between these classes and the government so as to be able to decide which policy was correct and instead adapting themselves to the development of Germany, they thought that this development should "adapt itself to them" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 4, p 341).

Those "social charlatans" and "true socialists" thus ignored reality as it was and proclaimed the "eternal truths" and interests which they tried to defend. "The interests of 'man' and the results they want to achieve boil down to 'philosophical achievements'" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 4, p 44).

The thesis about the decisive role of material production was directed against idealistic philosophy and the thesis about the necessary material and spiritual premises for implementing the idea of socialism and the socialist transformation of society was directed against utopian socialism. The joint work of Marx and Engels articulates the basic theses of Marxist ideology, especially of historical materialism, and justifies the need for communist revolution which "abolishes the domination of all classes and the classes themselves because revolution is carried out by that class which is not regarded and recognized as a class by society but which expresses within the present-day society the disappearance of all classes, nationalities, and so on." When Marx and Engels wrote these words, the international workers movement and contemporary socialism existed in their "embryonic stage of development." In addition, the hopes Engels expressed at the same time and his predictions about "a coming social revolution in England" ("The Situation of the Workers Class in England") were merely a product of "youthful fervor" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 2, p 750).

These two facts -- the polemical nature of "German Ideology" and the political situation in capitalist Europe of that time determined the climate of Marx' and Engels' deliberations about communist revolution and assigned them a place and role in the development of the ideas of scientific socialism. When analyzing "German Ideology" we must not forget the methodological directive contained in it: When examining social phenomena it is necessary to proceed "from real premises ...and not to abandon them even for a moment," to consider them "not in some fantastic isolation but in their true and empirically verified process of development under specific conditions" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 3, p 28).

Marx and Engels treated very extensively the issue of communist revolution and generally of communism in their "German Ideology." They treated them on the plane of the general and particular conditions necessary for abolishing alienation [alienacja], which is inevitably produced and reproduced by the economic and political relations in capitalism. According to Marx, the abolition of alienation calls for the fulfillment of three conditions:

1) Alienation "must become a force that 'cannot be withstood,' that is, a force against which revolution is made";

2) alienation "must make a large mass of people absolutely 'deprived of property' and opposed to the existing world of riches and education";

3) The two previous conditions must be preceded by "an enormous increase in the production potential and by a high degree of development." According to Marx and Engels, this is an "absolutely necessary practical precondition" of the process of disalienation [dezalienacja] because without it "want would be bound to become universal, poverty would give rise to the struggle for indispensable things, and all the previous mess would return" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 3, p 37). According to Marx and Engels, communism is "empirically possible of being achieved only as an act of ruling nations, carried out 'at a stroke' and simultaneously, an act calling for a universal development of the production forces and the associated worldwide people-to-people relations" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 3, p 38). It is significant that in "German Ideology" Marx and Engels treated social development in universal, supranational, and historical categories and were convinced that the world market was a *sine qua non* [published in Latin] condition for the existence of the proletariat, that the proletariat "can exist only in a worldwide historical sense," and that communism is possible "only as an existence that is worldwide and historical in nature" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 3, p 38).

Even this partial reconstruction of the views contained in "German Ideology" -- this reconstruction is more extensive and fuller than it is in "Communism at a Crossroads" [title as published] clearly shows that Schaff presents rather arbitrarily the views of the classics under the slogan "This is what Marxism really is, this is the whole truth about Marx' theory of socialist revolution and socialism." His interpretation produces categories and concepts that are not present in "German Ideology." Marx and Engels wrote about "want" and "poverty," but Schaff introduces the concept of "prosperity," which, in the bargain, is to be shared immediately upon the victory of revolution. Marx and Engels wrote about the need for a "revolutionary class," but Schaff has in mind a worker class of high standards so it is capable of "being equal to the requirements of modern technology." Marx and Engels deal with ideological, political, and moral concepts, but Schaff substitutes technological organizational and sociotechnical concepts for them.

The motive of the "flood of nationalism," that was ascribed to the classics, was taken from pure fantasy and not from "German Ideology." The universal and simultaneous character of socialist revolution stemmed from the contemporary view of the economic laws of the development of the capitalist system and trade. According to Marx and Engels the universal character of communist revolution stemmed from a number of various pre-conditions. First, "the universal people-to-people relations are based only on a universal development of production forces." Second, "the phenomenon of 'property-less' masses, which is produced simultaneously (universal competition) in all nations, makes each of these nations dependent on revolutions in other nations." Third, "this development is responsible for the fact that local phenomena are replaced by historical and empirically universal phenomena." Without all these things "1) communism would be able to exist only as a local phenomenon; 2) the very force of people-to-people relations would not be able to develop as a universal, and therefore an intolerable, force, but would remain a typically superstitious 'force'; and 3) any kind of expanding relations would annihilate local communism." (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 3, p 37)

Some time later in his "Principles of Communism" (1847) Engels approached the issue of the international character of socialist revolution in more political and sociological categories. Large-scale industry created a world market and brought closer and linked up the nations of the world and made them dependent on industry. The equal social and economic development in all civilized countries was responsible for the fact that the bourgeoisie and the proletariat became the basic, decisive social classes and the struggle between them became the main struggle of modern times. According to Engels, in this situation communist revolution will not be exclusively national, but will take place "at the same time in all civilized countries, that is, at least in Britain, America, France, and Germany. In each of these countries this revolution will develop faster or slower, depending on the development of industry and the volume of riches and production forces, which means that revolution will be slowest in Germany and fastest and easiest in Britain" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORK, Vol 4, p 413).

It is also worth noting that Marx and Engels, who at first really thought that socialist revolution would be victorious for economic reasons in the main capitalist countries -- Britain, North American, France, and Germany -- already in the seventies envisaged socialist revolution as a historical process.

The outbreak of revolution in one country was to stimulate revolutionary events in other countries, which would result in a revolutionary chain. Revolution achieves its final victory after it has broken out and is consolidated in the main capitalist countries.

Schaff approached the concepts present in Marx' and Engels' works in an abstract manner without any attempt to define their contents more closely. This is true of such key concepts as "want" and "poverty." Marx and Engels define these changeable historical concepts as a lack of "the possibility to meet one's needs in an at least limited way" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 3, p 38). This lack was caused primarily by the principles by which goods were shared in capitalism.

"On the one side there are boundless riches and superabundance of goods, which buyers are unable to absorb. On the other side there are large masses of society that have been proletarianized and turned into hired labor, which is the precise reason why they are unable to absorb that superabundance of goods. The division of society into a small and excessively rich class and into a large class of workers who are deprived of property is responsible for the fact that such society continues to choke itself in its own abundance, while an enormous majority of its members are hardly protected against the most dire poverty or are not protected at all" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Volume 22, p 251).

This poses a natural question, which is a crucial one from the viewpoint of the rationality of revolution, whether a just (or more just than in capitalism) sharing of even a universal poverty presented and presents an enormous progress and a stride forward toward socialism for the reason that it has always denoted -- also in the history of real socialism -- the liquidation of the exploiting classes, the socialization of the means of production, and the abolition of the most drastic inequalities that result in chronic starvation and in illnesses of wide social significance.

Several years after he had written "German Ideology" Marx modified slightly his view on "poverty" of the workers class and noted that "the workers' organization and incessantly increasing resistance will put up some barrier against increasing poverty insofar as is possible. However, what certainly continues to increase is the uncertainty of existence" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 22, p 276).

We will have to take a closer look at Schaff's concept of "prosperity," whose instantaneous shareout is to him the aim and the necessary condition for the success of socialist revolution and constitutes the guarantee of safeguarding the incipient socialist society against a return of the "old mess." Some observations have to be made in this connection.

First, Schaff seems to have overlooked the fact that Marxism regards the irreconcilable contradiction between society's material forces of production and production relations as the primordial source of the Marxist concept of revolution. In their "German Ideology" Marx and Engels noted that this contradiction "was each time bound to come to a head in the shape of revolution, assuming various secondary shapes such as the form of the clash, clashes between various classes, contradiction of awareness, the struggle of ideas, the political struggle, and so on." (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 3, p 83). From the viewpoint of the thesis put forward in "German Ideology" to the effect that "historical collisions -- that is, revolutions -- "are caused...by contradictions between production forces and the pattern of people-to-people relations," the observation that in order to cause such collisions or revolutions in a given country "it is not necessary for this contradiction to reach its extreme stage" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 3, p 82) is most crucial. The contradiction that leads to revolution can appear when "prosperity" and the possibility for sharing it out are far away. One purpose of revolutions is to ensure that the shareout of the existing material and spiritual goods resulting from production is more equitable and that more such goods are produced.

Second, Schaff seems to be unaware of the economic aims of socialist revolution. In the context of the theses, which are ascribed to Marx, that existing prosperity is rapidly or instantly shared, these aims cease to be essential and recede into the background.

This is not consistent, however, with the spirit of Marxist socialism, even of that which is allegedly marked for the countries that are "economically highly developed and rich." In contrast to what Schaff thinks, Marx assumed that socialist society would develop "on foundations that are not its own" and that not even in the most highly developed societies would it be possible to meet one's needs in line with the general principle of prosperity. Such needs can be met in accordance with the individual contribution of labor. In this context the issue of the production of material and spiritual goods acquires first-class significance after revolution.

As early as 1847 Engels envisaged that, freed "from the bonds of private property," the national economy would develop most extensively, providing for society an "amount of goods sufficient to meet the needs of the people.... This means that society will produce enough products and that this will make it possible to organize such a shareout as to ensure that the needs of all members of society are met" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 4, p 414).

Third -- this is the most crucial point -- Schaff's thesis about the "shareout of prosperity" shifts the point of gravity to the area of the distribution and not of the production of goods. In his "Criticism of the Gotha Program" Marx wrote that "generally speaking it would be an error to make the so-called shareout the crux of the matter and to place the main stress on it" and that "vulgar socialism" (and from it a certain faction of democracy) adopted the bourgeois economists' manner of considering and regarding the shareout as something independent of production. That is why treating the issue in such a way as to show that socialism is mainly concerned with the shareout is an error (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 19, p 25). Engels argued that also in socialism "the method of sharing out depends... primarily on how much there is to share out". This amount changes "as production and social organization develop" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 37, p 516). Engels saw the basic opportunity to increase the amount of goods in "intensification of work" resulting from "improving the economic-social mechanism" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 39, p 501).

Schaff also approached in an abstract manner the concept of the "high degree of development of production forces." Two reservations are crucial in this connection. To Marx and Engels economic development is dynamic, and that is why it is impossible "all the time" to draw general conclusions "from these extremely complicated and ever changing factors. The most important of economic factors that make up that 'high degree of the development of production forces' are those that 'operate most often in secret for a long time, only to burst out suddenly with great force and show up on the surface'" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 22, 609). This means that as a rule it was possible only a posteriori, as in 1848, to make the decision about the maturity or immaturity of socioeconomic relations for communist revolution.

The conditions and premises for this communist revolution are delineated much more profoundly in "German Ideology" than Schaff's statements suggest.

First, communist revolution in "German Ideology" is a radically new and different factor in the process of liberating man from the impact of the enslaving socioeconomic and from forces. Although new and different, it is still that factor.

Second, the success of revolution is determined by the existence or nonexistence of "material elements of a total upheaval":

1) "of the specific production forces"; and 2) "of the revolutionary masses that rebel not only against the individual conditions of the previous community, but also against the individual the previous 'way of life' and against 'all the activities on which the previous community is based'" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 3, p 42).

Defining more closely the concept of "specific production forces necessary for carrying out revolution and realizing its aims," Marx and Engels wrote about such a level of development "at which such production forces and means of exchange are created that in given conditions can produce only disasters and become forces of destruction and not of production."

In 1847 Marx and Engels came back several times to the issue of the "material elements of a total upheaval," defining in detail and enriching the ideas contained in "German Ideology." Marx includes an extremely crucial statement in "The Poverty of Philosophy." "If an oppressed class is to be liberated, then the production forces already created and the existing social relations must not be allowed to exist side by side. Of all the instruments of production, the very revolutionary class is the greatest usable force. The organization of revolutionary elements together with class presupposes the existence of all the production forces that have been able to be created within society" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 4, p 198).

This is an important statement for several reasons. First of all it stressed the humanist meaning of revolution (and, at the same time, the humanist virtues of the Marxist theory of socialist revolution!): Its aim is to liberate the oppressed class and not to develop production forces or to promote an "instantaneous shareout of prosperity." The development of production forces, which is a prior condition for carrying out revolution and which is a condition for implementing the aims of revolution after it has been carried out, is an instrument of liberating the people. Prosperity is only one aspect of this liberation. The workers class is the primary agent of revolution: Its organization is a symptom of the historical superfluosity of capitalism and testimony that capitalism is ripe for revolution in terms of history. This means that here we have to do with a significant shift in stress and relation between two "material elements of total upheaval" -- between production forces and the revolutionary class. Another statement from the same period fully justifies this interpretation: Up to 1847 in capitalist Europe such production forces and means have been created that "make it possible to indefinitely increase these forces within a short time." These forces outgrew private property and the bourgeoisie to such an extent that "they continuously create violent upheavals in the social system. That is why the abolition of private property has now become not only possible, but downright necessary" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 4, p 409). It is worth recalling that 2 years before -- in 1845 during the period when "German Ideology" was being written -- Engels deemed it possible to introduce the communist system in Germany: "The present situation in Germany is bound to lead to social revolution within a very short time.... No measures will be able to stop this revolution, which is close at hand.... Preparing for the introduction of the communist system is the only way to prevent such a revolution, which is more horrible than all the upheavals known in history" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 2, p 613).

The task of proletarian revolution is to abolish private property. Engels imagined this revolution as a process during which it "will gradually transform the present societies and will be able to abolish private property when the necessary resources of production forces have been created" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 2, p 410). Opposing the "moralizing criticism" of reality Marx pointed to the "human" nature of the efforts to create history and the material relations of social liberation. In the course of history and in line with its "movement" material conditions must be created under which the abolition of the capitalist system of production "becomes necessary." The people themselves must create during their development the material conditions for a new society. No efforts, however great, of thought or will are able to spare them this destiny. (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 4, p 373).

Third, all the conditions that are there -- the heritage of generations, which new generations not only modify, but also use to shape "their own conditions of life" and development -- are a factor that intervenes in the process of history. "The conditions of life that various generations find waiting for them determine whether a revolutionary upheaval that periodically returns in the course of history is strong enough to overthrow the base of whatever is in existence" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 3, p 42).

Fourth, in order to massively develop communist awareness -- "the awareness of the need for a thorough revolution" -- and in order "to carry out the very cause," that is, communist revolution and the revolutionary transformation of society, "it is necessary to massively transform people, which can be done only in practical activities, in revolution." Only in revolution is the workers class "able...to reach a stage at which it can get rid of the old mess and to build a new society" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 3, p 78). The communist proletarians who carry out revolution "revolutionize society and base the relations of production and the forms of exchanges on new foundations, that is, on themselves as new people and on their new way of life." They stop being what they have been and gradually shed all that spiritual "mess" produced by capitalism. However, they stop being what they have been only in the "changed conditions." That is why "in revolutionary activities the transformation of oneself is related to the transformation of conditions" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 3, p 228).

This shows that there is not even a trace of anything to suggest that Marx and Engels entertained the idealistic and moralizing view that socialism can be created only by the people with "clean hands," that it is first necessary to eliminate the conditions favoring the operations of "profiteers," "swindlers," "bribe-takers," and so on, and only then is it possible to build a socialist society and develop new "socialist men and women." Only in the process of revolution in the area of consciousness and attitudes and in the process of creating a new system, which is a process much more difficult than the creation of the "socialist economic formation," can "old" people become "new" people. This is a process for generations to complete. He who measures it by scores of years commits a serious error that produces disappointment and makes one lose faith in socialism.

The conditions and premises for communist revolution as described in "German Ideology" fall into a certain pattern. Economic premises and, above all, a certain level of the development of production forces play a decisive role in the "last reckoning" because they make it possible to go beyond the boundaries of "universal poverty" and safeguard against the "struggle for indispensable things" -- a struggle that hinders and checks the process of creating socialist society and getting rid of the "old mess." However, the contradictions between the development level of production forces and production relations -- their depth, extent, features, and so on -- are the decisive factor in the outbreak of revolution and determine its success. The material expression of this is the existence of the workers class that is ready to carry out revolution and that knows how to do it.

The premises and conditions for communist revolution are abstract in character. "Divorced from real history, these abstractions are in themselves of no value at all. Their only use is to help sort out historical materials and indicate the sequence of these materials. However, these premises and conditions supply no recipe or scheme in line with which it would be possible to suitably delimit the epochs of history." According to Marx and Engels, "research into the real processes of life" in line with specific methodological assumptions and directives, and not theoretical constructions and abstractions, should be of decisive importance. In turn, these assumptions and directives are results of "research into the real processes of life" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 3, p 29).

Schaff seems to have forgotten these fundamental and elementary truths of Marxism. He treads his "own road": He selects the excerpt he needs from "German Ideology," "transforms" it in line with his present Eurocommunist version of Marxism, raises it to the status of a new dogma, as he has already done several times in his career as a theoretician, and turns it into a criterion for evaluating real socialism and the Marxists whose thinking differs from his.

Lenin's Strategy of Revolution and of Creating Socialism in a Backward Country

In his deliberations of socialist revolution and real socialism, which was initiated by Russia, Schaff cites Lenin's thoughts relatively frequently, but, as a rule, within an equivocal and significant context. The attitude of the author of "The Communist Movement at a Crossroads" toward Lenin and his thought is ambivalent. On the one hand Schaff "defends" Lenin against J. Stalin's interpretations and codifications and against the later theoretical and practical deformations of Lenin's heritage. On the other hand, however, he carefully stresses what, in line with his own criteria, represented Lenin's departure from the Marxist source and its unjustified revision in the wrong direction. This applies, above all, to the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a transition period.... Marx saw in this thesis his original contribution to the theory of class warfare; however, there is no doubt that Marx and Engels gave a different meaning to this thesis than Lenin did later on, especially so in a number of extremely severe formulations concerning the time of the civil war.... Because in both cases the same terms denote different things (for example, let us bear in mind Engels' definition of proletarian dictatorship as a democratic republic, and Lenin's formula of the domination that is not curbed by any legal regulations....), there may be a danger of confusing terms owing to semantic misunderstandings. That is why it seems that one should abandon a term that can cause confusion...." "The Communist Movement At a Crossroads," pp 143-144). This means that Schaff is full of absolute praise for the Eurocommunist parties' abandonment of the term of proletarian dictatorship because what is at stake is not so much and not only "the elimination of certain words" ("The Communist Movement at a Crossroads", p 143). Marxism "is concerned for the true state of affairs and not for words and for verbiage, which makes a mystery out of reality. The crux of the matter in this case is clear and simple: If the sociopolitical system of so-called real socialism is defined as proletarian dictatorship -- this definition has already been established -- then the Eurocommunist parties do not want any proletarian dictatorship, do not want precisely such proletarian dictatorship. And they are right" ("The Communist Movement at a Crossroads," p 144).

Precisely such proletarian dictatorship! For the sake of exactitude we should add: No proletarian dictatorship at all because the statement "proletarian dictatorship for a brief transition period" contains no other meaning than that there is a "period of transition" between overthrowing the bourgeoisie and taking over power by the workers class, on the one hand, and the creation of a socialist society, on the other.

Schaff's deliberations have brought us back to the disputes that have been going on in the international workers movement since the end of the 19th century. These disputes were clearly aggravated during the periods of revolutionary tensions and revolutions, including the years of 1905-07 and the socialist revolution in Russia. Lenin was right when he said that proletarian dictatorship is the "basic issue of the workers movement -- of socialist revolution" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, p 344) and "that which is most crucial and fundamental in revolution" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, p 374).

Lenin believed that without the concept of "dictatorship" it is impossible to construe a "strict and classbound definition" of revolution in the same way as it is impossible to be a "revolutionary in practice" without preparing the dictatorship of a specific class (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, p 344). "He who has not understood that every revolutionary class must establish its dictatorship in order to win victory has understood nothing or does not want to know anything about this issue" (LENIN'S WORKS Vol 31, p 344).

The heritage of Lenin's thoughts includes many definitions of the component parts of proletarian dictatorship. Put together, these definitions constitute this dictatorship's theory or concept. Let us cite a number of extremely acute formulations (made at the end of 1920) because it is precisely these that will best help us understand the crux of Lenin's concept and Schaff's deliberations about this concept. Like any dictatorship of a class, proletarian dictatorship "denotes unlimited power which is based on force" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 3, page 351), "power which is not limited by anything, which is absolutely unrestrained by any laws and regulations, and which relies directly on force" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, p 358). It is worth noting a few aspects in this connection. First, Lenin's formulations do not apply to "proletarian dictatorship" from the viewpoint of society, but to the dictatorship of a class as such. Lenin lays blame on "scientists" that "they even distorted the Latin they learned in school in order to debase revolutionary struggle" and speaks of the "scientific concept of dictatorship" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, pp 351, 357). Second, despite what Schaff thinks and writes, those extremely acute formulations, that is, according to Lenin, a "scientific definition of dictatorship" in general, has nothing to do with civil war and with the period in which these formulations were made. According to Lenin, the victory of every revolutionary class calls for the establishment of the dictatorship of this class, which means that first one has to demolish Lenin's statement in question before one can reject the concept of proletarian dictatorship in a theoretically justified way. Third, although this is an elementary matter, it is worth recalling that Lenin uses the concepts of "dictatorship of a minority over a majority" and "dictatorship of an overwhelming majority of people" and sees in this the basis of difference between "bourgeois dictatorship" and "proletarian dictatorship."

In the case of the Leninist concept of proletarian dictatorship, aspects of it such as "unrestrained by any laws" and "directly based on force" have often been subjected to severe attacks. The anticommunists also criticize these aspects of proletarian dictatorship (while "forgetting" that Lenin said that they are characteristic for all kinds of class dictatorship. A few observations in this connection: Lenin's stress on "unrestrained" powers of proletarian dictatorship is relative because it applies to the laws and regulations established by the bourgeoisie. They denote the bourgeoisie's overriding will and its refusal to recognize "any other power, law, and norm, no matter who would proclaim them" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, p 355). They also denote the creation of a new social reality, such as "the grabbing of political freedom" without any laws and regulations and without any restrictions" [quotation marks as published] (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, p 354). "Is it right," Lenin asked "that the people use illegal, chaotic, unplanned, and inconsistent ways of struggle such as grabbing freedom by force and creating a new revolutionary power that no one recognizes? Is it right that they use force against oppressors of human beings? Yes, this is most certainly right" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, p 359). The typical and basic "restraints" on proletarian dictatorship are: revolutionary freedom and the laws established by revolutions, by proletarian dictatorship -- the "revolutionary law" created by the people (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, p 357) and executed and safeguarded by revolutionary power. Breaking this law and the practices that are in conflict with the doctrine and that have never been justified by the doctrine have become for the Eurocommunists the basic premise for rejecting the Leninist concept of proletarian dictatorship.

The "odium" mentioned by Schaff is a liability, and this is obvious. But why reject the meaning of theory? This is not consistent with the logic represented by Schaff himself, who stubbornly and with admirable perseverance proclaims that the errors committed by the Marxists, and bad practice, are not and should not be a liability for the theory of Marxism. The reasons why the Eurocommunists have rejected proletarian dictatorship are bound to be rooted in the efforts to conform to the fears, prejudices, and mental stereotypes of the intermediate classes and of the groups of the workers class that are under the influence of the social and Christian democrats. This attitude, which is interpreted as an expression of tactics and as a guiding beacon for educational and propaganda activities (they cannot be successful without making allowances for those fears, prejudices, and stereotypes), becomes a straight road to opportunism and to revising the basic assumptions of scientific socialism when factual necessities are turned into theoretical and strategic virtues. Lenin observed and criticized a similar phenomenon after the revolution in Russia. Polemicalizing with Kautsky and the theoretical deformation of Marx' and Engel's teachings about the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin noted that he takes "from Marxism that which is acceptable for the liberals and the bourgeoisie and rejects, passes over in silence, and rubs out in Marxism that which is not acceptable to the bourgeoisie (the revolutionary force of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in order to annihilate it)" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol. 28, p 249). A few years later Lenin returned to this question in some other context. "Now, in 1900, we could add that both in Germany and in Italy the bourgeoisie, or at least its most educated members, are ready to 'recognize' revolution. However, while 'recognizing' revolution and, at the same time, refusing to recognize the dictatorship of a specific class (or classes...), they demonstrate their reformism in precisely this way and the fact that they are thoroughly useless as revolutionaries" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, pp 347-348).

It is significant that Marx, Engels, and Lenin regard proletarian dictatorship as an instrument and means of achieving certain aims: to gradually eliminate capitalist conditions, to organize the socialist method of production, to transform social awareness and attitudes, to effectively strangle the resistance of the propertied classes, and to yoke them by all necessary measures. One of the basic premises for proletarian dictatorship was the existence of the resistance of the classes removed from economic and political power, even though the forms and strength of this resistance were regarded as changeable and dependent on historical circumstances and national conditions. In this connection it is correct to assert that the classics do not view the forms and methods of implementing the function of proletarian dictatorship as an issue or principle but of expedience, which is determined by a number of circumstances. The first such circumstance is the way in which power is won (by peaceful means, through an armed uprising, and so on). The second circumstance is the extent of social support. The third is the strength and forms of resistance of the classes deprived of power and property. The fourth is the ideological, political, and moral "quality" of the workers class and its allies, as well as the level of their class consciousness and political culture, which determine the manner in which "history is to be created and 'principles and theories' are to be implemented directly and immediately...." (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 10, p 246).

But Schaff rejects not only the Leninist concept of proletarian dictatorship, but also the Leninist concept of the party of a new type.

According to Schaff, the Eurocommunist parties are wrong when "they spasmodically stick to a specific concept of the party of democratic centralism, which is not a Leninist concept in its present form, but is Stalin's creation" ("The Communist Movement at a Crossroads," p 102). The Leninist concept of the party of a new type attested to Lenin's "genius" and was an expression of the "creative revision of the views held by the classics" ("The Communist Movement at a Crossroads." pp 100, 102) in the typical and unique conditions of Czarist Russia with its conspiracy, lack of democracy, and so on.

After World War I the communist parties adopted the Leninist model as a model that had to be adopted, without "taking specific imponderabilia into consideration" ("The Communist Movement at a Crossroads," p 102). Even the Eurocommunist parties have retained this model up to this day.

As you can see, Schaff overlooked the fact that the Leninist party of a "new type" is not a petrified, unchangeable, and eternal ideological-political and organizational structure and a community of ideas, peoples, and activities serving to overthrow capitalism and building socialism. [sentence as published] Schaff takes those features that are typical of the periods of illegality and the struggle against absolutism as its inherent features. He regards whatever was an open departure from the Leninist principles and whatever violated and ignored these principles as an inherent feature of the party and as its characteristic. He does not see and does not want to see (as attested to by his evaluation of the Ninth PZPR Congress) the gradual changes taking place within the parties of the countries of real socialism and the march of these parties -- also through crises and breakdowns like those in Poland -- to the truly Leninist type of party of a "new type" denote not only a period of "what to do," but also, and above all, the Soviet period, the period of the development of socialist democracy and of the fulfillment of leading and managing functions by the communist party. Experience shows that in analyzing the party of a new type Schaff "overlooked" something that readily strikes the eye -- the quintessence of the Leninist concept of the proletarian party, namely, the ties with the workers class, with the revolutionary masses. This is because, according to Lenin, what is most crucial in the party are the "correct mutual relations between the guiding communist party, the revolutionary class, and the proletariat, on the one hand, and the masses, that is, all the working and exploited people, on the other. Only the communist party, provided it is able to establish unbreakable bonds with the entire life of its class, and through it with the exploited masses, and to win the total confidence of this class and these masses, will be able to lead the proletariat...." (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, pp 179-180). At the Second Congress of the Third International Lenin stressed that "new parties and different parties," that is, those typical of the Second International, are the parties that "will always maintain real ties with the masses and will know how to guide these masses" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, p 233).

The Leninist concept of the party adopts as the point of departure the sociological assertion that a social class must create a political organization if it is to engage in political activities and to effectively defend its interests. "The proletariat," Lenin kept repeating in various situations and contexts, "has no weapon in the struggle for power other than its organization" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 7, p 441). According to Lenin, the masses of a specific class can learn how to "prosecute its policy" only when their most active and conscious groups and productive elements organize themselves politically. "In order to serve the masses and to express their correctly conceived interests, the leading echelon and organization should conduct all activities among the masses, attracting their best forces without exception and checking at every step thoroughly and objectively whether the ties with the masses are maintained and are alive" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 19, p 421.)

The type and model of such a party -- a "leading militant" that is guided by the "revolutionary theory" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 5, p 405 -- is for Lenin the function of three different unchangeable and changeable factors.

First, it is a function of the revolutionary character of the party as a party of social revolution and not of reforms within the framework of capitalism.

Second, it is a function of the class character of the party, which means that the party is guided by the class interests of the proletariat and that in this sense it is a class party and not the party of the masses or of the people as such.

The ties with the masses of the party's class, which are stressed by Lenin, acquire special significance only from this viewpoint. The violation or abolition of these ties takes place when the party's activities are not accepted or understood by the masses or when the masses do not identify themselves with these ties and, while accepting these ties, do not want to share in implementing them.

Third, it is a function of the time in history which is made up by many various factors determining the conditions for party activities, including the running of government or being in opposition, the nature of the system, the method of government, the balance of class and political forces, the international situation, the "quality" of the party's class and of the class of the capitalists, and so on and so forth.

The idea of creating a uniform model of the party that would always be binding on all epochs, peoples, and situations was and is alien to Lenin and to Marxism-Leninism. On the other hand, however, the Leninist concept of the party of a "new type," which is active during the struggle for power, during revolution, and during the creation of socialism, shows certain universal laws that result precisely from the character of the workers class and from its long-term class aims. Among these universal features of the Marxist-Leninist party as the party of socialist revolution, it is necessary to include primarily the fact that it follows Marxism-Leninism in its activities, applying it creatively and developing it in revolutionary practice. The Marxist-Leninist party is a collective political leader of the class -- its "collective intellectual" and the highest form of its organization.

The source of its ideological and moral strength are its close ties with the masses, and the basis for its functioning is democratic centralism. "Ties with the masses" is a very loose concept and one covering many areas. On the one hand, it embraces the duties of the workers class toward its party (inspiration, assessment, control over the party's functioning, control over the party's performance of its leadership role, correcting its mistakes, correcting faulty decisions, expressing social approval or disapproval for its leaders, and so on), as well as the party's duties toward its own class holding consultations on programs and decisions, informing about its policy, "speaking the truth" when necessary, even if the truth is bitter; becoming acquainted with the consciousness, moods, and attitudes of the class; opposing interests which represent particularism or which are transitory in nature; imparting socialist consciousness to the class on behalf of class historic interests; and so on). The implementation of the Marxist-Leninist party's tasks as the vanguard of the workers class demands unanimity of thought and action, but it also demands that the concept of a "monolith hewn out of one single block" be rejected. An expression of this unanimity and rejection is democratic centralism, which guarantees most effectively of all a "unanimity of thought and action" under the conditions in which the party of the masses, which is not free of distortions, exists, these conditions reflecting the differences among the society in which the party functions and of which it forms part. The international nature of the goals and struggle of the workers class means that an important and universal characteristic of the Marxist-Leninist party is proletarian internationalism. This is expressed not only in the international solidarity and joint activity between the communist and revolutionary movements and parties, but also by the fact that every one of these parties makes a critical analysis of its own experience and that of the international workers movement, contributing new values to this heritage.

Not sparing his compliments for Lenin, Schaff clearly diminishes the significance of this role in the development of Marxist thought. He restricts Lenin's significance to Russia and to Russia's own local and unrepeatable experiences. The concept "Leninism" does not enjoy Schaff's recognition. This concept was introduced by Bukharin at a time when a fatal illness cut Lenin off from political activity.

"Leninism in its usual sense today is the product of Stalinist 'codification' which differs in many points from Lenin...It was Stalin who absolutized various ideas of Lenin, removed them from their historical context, and demanded that they be regarded as the sum of the experience of the international workers movement." ("The Communist Movement at the Crossroads," pp 103-104). "In itself, the codification of Lenin's thought was justified since Lenin had no doubt contributed many new features to Marxist theory; nevertheless, the formula 'Marxism-Leninism' was used during the Stalinist period as a definition for the form of Marxist theory which, in the light of the theory and practice of that period, was regarded as the only correct one. Making no mention, however, of Stalin's own interpretation of Marxism, which served Stalinist practices, real Leninism contains many features which are understandable on the basis of the Russian workers movement's needs, but which cannot be transferred mechanically to the practices of other countries, especially if those countries are highly developed (for example party structure problems or a particular concept behind proletarian dictatorship...)" Leninism is not a generalization of the experience of the world workers movement -- neither can it be universally applied. "The development of scientific theory (as opposed to religion) can never be finished, and this of course applies to Marxism as well. Therefore, with all due respect for Lenin's genius and his role in the international workers movement, one cannot create a situation where a "tyranny of words" could hinder the development of Marxism. One cannot do this especially because a range of ideas belonging to the Stalinist period must be given up, even those which are 'faithful to Leninism,' in order to go back to the beginnings. That is why it is justified to pay homage in program documents to Lenin's contribution to the development of Marxist theory, but it is also correct to restore to the theory the definition Marxism, without any extra words" ("The Communist Movement at the Crossroads" pp 145-147).

The following remarks can be made in the light of the above words and above attempts to throw Lenin and his thought into the correct light:

First, it is worth recalling that A. Schaff himself made a significant contribution to the above dogmatization, absolutization, and codification of Lenin's thought with the help of ways and means used by Stalin. He contributed to the spreading of this thought on Polish territory under the banner of a "creative development of Marxism" and to the weeding-out of political, ideological, and theoretical "miasmas" and "rightwing-nationalistic deviation."

Second, Schaff, the author of "The Communist Movement at the Crossroads," did not go beyond the above boundaries of understanding the genesis and meaning of Leninism. He tries to present in the minds of Marxists today, including Polish Marxists, this very understanding of Leninism current in the forties and fifties as a reality that is still functioning in the theory and practice of Marxism in the eighties.

Is remaining silent about Lenin's views and reducing Leninism to a "national variant" merely a coincidence, or is it a deliberate tribute, a recognition of the correctness of setting Engels against Marx, and Marx and Engels against Lenin, which was popular among bourgeois "Marxologists" and "Leninologists" and among Eurocommunists?

Schaff's attitude toward Lenin and Leninism is also expressed in his tendency to ignore or interpret in his own way Lenin's stance on the issue of Russia's ripeness for revolution and socialism. In 1905, Schaff writes, Lenin opposed socialist revolution as a direct goal of the struggle. In 1917, he presented this goal in a certain form because he was convinced, just as most of the revolutionaries of that time were, that "revolution in Russia will cause a world revolution, and Russia will become, as Lenin clearly said, a backward country once again, but this time it will be backward within the framework of the world socialist system" ("The Communist Movement at the Crossroads" p 53).

Schaff basically passes over in silence everything that Lenin had to say about Russia's "ripeness" or "unripeness" for socialist revolution and for the socialist transformation of society, and also does not mention what theoretical and practical conclusions the leader of the victorious party and creator and leader of the first socialist state drew from his experiences.

The question of Russia's "ripeness" or "unripeness" for socialist revolution and socialist transformations has caused much discussion in the international workers movement, and, for understandable reasons, also in the German social democratic movement. These discussions were very interesting and informative, especially because the arguments, and conclusions expressed in them are being compared with what Schaff has to say on them 60 years later.

F. Mehring, who initiated a discussion on the Russian revolution, observed this revolution's dilemma in the question "Tragedy or Lack of Common Sense?" According to this patriarch of German social democracy, the logic of events and Russia's sociopolitical situation mean that the Bolsheviks have to do what they do not want to do, and do not do what they would like to do and should do if they were masters over their own decisions. Mehring defended the Bolsheviks against accusations that they do not take stock of existing conditions because they want to "set up a society which besides being 90 percent composed of peasants, also consists of almost 10 percent industrial workers," which clashes with "the most elementary concepts of Marxism." (F. Mehring: "The History of German Social Democracy," Warsaw 1963, Vol 1, pp 755-757). K. Zetkin gives a more unequivocal answer to the question of Russia's ripeness for socialist revolutions. "Things and people are ripe for revolution when wide masses of people regard certain matters as unbearable, when they no longer trust the will and ability of the governing social forces to remove the unbearable burden from their shoulders, and when they trust only in their own strength." (M. Waldenberg: "Revolution and the State in the Political Thought of V. Lenin," Warsaw 1978, p 232).

K. Kautsky has criticized the revolution in Russia, the Bolshevik Party, and its leader, from the point of view of orthodox Marxism. His basic introductory idea said that "Russia has not become ripe enough to organize modern socialist production, and the proletariat is incapable of running the state, therefore, Russia is threatened by chaos and backwardness in social development. Such a development of the situation would morally compromise the revolution and would open roads to counterrevolution." If, however, Russia succeeded in overcoming the difficulties accumulating in front of the workers class, then "that would be something extraordinary. It would mean a new era in world history" (Waldenberg, p 238 of the above work). A more serious criticism of the Russian revolution is given by Kautsky in his controversial pamphlet entitled "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat," (Vienna, 1919). The contents of this pamphlet compare Russian reality with a theoretical reply to the question: What conditions must be met in order to "make modern socialism possible" when a country is "ripe for socialism?" (p 7 of Kautsky's pamphlet). Kautsky regards the following as the "preliminary conditions for achieving socialism": 1) "The will for socialism" which can create heavy industry dominating the national economy. Socialist revolution and socialism are impossible in a country where small-scale production dominates. 2) The material prerequisites for socializing the economy and for implementing the "will for socialism". 3) The existence of a social force which can implement and wishes to implement socialism. "Those who want socialism must be strong, stronger than those who do not." This social force, just like socialism itself, comes from the cities and from industry, not from rural areas and agriculture. 4) The proletariat's ability to apply its own strength correctly, and its political maturity. Whether the proletariat is "strong and intelligent enough" to create socialism in the economic sphere depends on the ripeness for socialism (p 12 of the above work).

According to Kautsky, none of the above conditions have been met in Russia. Therefore the Bolsheviks cannot guarantee prosperity to the working masses. The less material and intellectual prerequisites there are for implementing the goals revolution has set itself, the more the Bolsheviks are forced to replace what is lacking by means of "brute force, a dictatorship" (p 29 of the above work).

It is mainly representatives of the socialist left who have polemized with Kautsky's views about Russia's unripeness for socialism and about the consequences of this. The "Spartacus" group say that the "great theoretician 'Bagna' and all those like him who look on the upheaval in Russia full of good wishes but at the same time full of pessimism might be right if Russia were on the moon -- Is Russia ripe for social revolution? This is a wonderful question. It is as if social revolution were a 'national' business, which had its beginning and end within the frontiers of Russia. What these well-wishing defenders of the Russian upheaval forget is that this upheaval was possible only as a result of not only the Russian development of capitalism, but the world development of capitalism as well -- and of its class discrepancies." The Spartacus members regarded the Russian revolution as a "prologue to a European revolution of the proletariat. But if the European workers, and particularly those in Germany, continue to merely observe the Russian revolution and wish it success, the same fate is in store for Russian authority as for the Paris Commune." R. Luxemburg presented similar views. According to her, "dictatorship by the proletariat is doomed unless an international revolution creates a proper base for it at the proper time. It is doomed to such a demagogic catastrophe that the fate of the Paris Commune will seem a child's game in comparison" (Waldenberg, the above work, pp 232-235).

Among the statements made by spokesmen advocating Russia's "unripeness" for socialist revolution, we find several common ideas which are surprisingly similar to those written by the author of "The Communist Movement at the Crossroads."

First, the Bolsheviks, despite the teachings of Marx, assumed power in a country that was underdeveloped and unripe for revolution. Aware of this, they are trying to skip stages of social development in a voluntaristic manner.

Second, not having full support from the majority of people, and unable to satisfy the people's material needs and aspirations, they are resorting to terror and "brute force" in order to remain in power. Neither do they recognize the democratic will which is directed against them.

Third, they are discrediting socialism and Marxism with their "Blanquism," "anarchism," "revolutionary impatience," and so on.

Fourth, the revolution in Russia is a Russian national phenomenon and a local one. Conditions in Western Europe are different and socialist revolution will proceed in a different way there.

Lenin's stance concerning the prerequisites for and the conditions behind the victory of the socialist revolution, this stance being formed before and during the revolution and after its victory, was not constant. His stance evolved under the influence of the experiences of the revolution of 1905, the revolution of March 1917, and the beginnings of the socialist transformations, and was also influenced by the loss of hope for a general victory of socialist revolution and by the emerging truth that Russia would remain the only socialist state for a long time, until the next tide of revolution comes in to Europe.

Lenin stressed that from 1905 to 1917 "The country has moved forward because capitalism has made a step forward. The ruin has reached unheard-of proportions, and it will demand steps forward toward socialism, whether anyone wants this or not. For there is no other way to move forward, no other way to save a country ravaged by war, no other way to relieve the suffering of the working and exploited masses" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 28, p 303). However, nothing indicates whether Lenin wondered what kind of "world socialist system" was supposed to emerge in the near future, in which Russia was meant to be "once again a backward country." By the way, one ought to note that Schaff presents Lenin's thoughts completely inaccurately. Lenin wrote in LEFT-WING COMMUNISM: A CHILDHOOD DISORDER in 1920 that "if after the victory of the proletarian revolution at least one leading country experiences a violent upheaval, which in all probability is the case, then Russia will soon cease to be a country serving as a model, but will once again become a backward country (in the Soviet and socialist sense)" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, p 6).

Somewhat later, Lenin notices once again that the Russian proletariat has "outstripped all England's and all Germany's as far as the political system and the political leadership strength of the workers are concerned," and he observes at the same time that "Russia is far behind the most backward country in Western Europe when it comes to the level of culture and to the degree of preparation for the material and productional 'emergence' of socialism." (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 32, pp 356-357).

Lenin not only ascertained that when the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia the country was not at all fully ripe for socialist transformations from the socioeconomic and civilizational point of view, but he also drew conclusions from the above concerning, among other things: the strategy for socialist construction; the strategy for transforming the economy, the political system, culture, and social consciousness and attitudes; and the role and place of the communist party in these processes. The substance behind his theoretical reflections, conclusions, and proposals was the experience of Russia, but at the same time his thoughts possessed a more general value and were an important step forward in the development of Marxist theory and the creation of socialism.

Lenin had no doubts whether the October Revolution and the first years of the creation of socialism were proceeding in accordance with the forms of these forecasts as seen by the theoreticians of the Second International. His lack of doubt is clearly evident in his speeches condemning "slavish adherence to the past," the understanding of an interpretation of Marxism as "a pedantic impossibility," a failure to understand "what is decisive in Marxism -- its revolutionary dialectics," and the ignoring of "Marx's clear indications that maximum flexibility is essential during time of revolution." (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 33, p 493). The starting point for Lenin, the theoretician and practitioner of the revolution, was life: "A Marxist must take stock of life, take into consideration the facts of reality, and not stubbornly cling to the theory of yesterday which, as is the case with every theory, only defines basic and general matters at the best of times and is only aimed at embracing the complexity of life." (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 24, pp 27-28).

In his polemics with K. Kautsky, Lenin asked the following question in connection with the experiences of the revolution in Russia: "Are there any historical laws in existence concerning revolution that recognize no exceptions?...No, there are no such laws. Such laws only take into consideration what is typical, what Marx once called 'ideal' in the sense of average, normal, and typical capitalism." (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 28, pp 238-239). Lenin's view of "the historical laws of revolution" emerged from an analysis of the revolutions of the time, of their mass nature, and of the interplay inside these revolutions of rational and irrational phenomena, phenomena which were foreseeable and unforeseeable, phenomena which were permanent or only transient.

"History in general, and the history of revolution in particular, is always richer in content, more varied, more comprehensive, more lively, and more 'shrewd' than the best parties and the most clear-sighted vanguard of the most advanced classes can imagine. This is understandable, for it is the best vanguard that lends expression to the consciousness, will, ability, and imagination of tens of thousands of people, while revolution is carried out at times of particular tension by the consciousness, will, ability, and imagination of tens of millions of people who have been stirred into action by the sharpest struggle of the classes" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, p 82).

Just as Marx and Engels, Lenin also regarded revolution as a process of political and economic upheaval, sharpened battle and class struggle, civil wars and counterrevolution as a process proceeding differently in countries with different degrees of ripeness for socialist revolution and socialist transformations. A useful expression of this was, among other things, the Leninist idea that revolution grows out of its bourgeois-democratic essence and adopts a socialist essence, and the thought that the democratic tasks of society in general, which are, nevertheless, performed under the decisive influence of the workers class and its party, considerably widen the social base of revolution and draw new semiproletarian strata into the struggle for socialism. The theory of such a growth of revolution was a practical confirmation of Lenin's thought that "revolution is not carried out on order and no specific time is set for it: Revolutions ripen during the process of historical development and break out at a moment determined by an entire range of internal and external causes: (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 27, p 573).

According to Lenin, the socialist revolution in Russia was not an ordinary, mechanical result of socioeconomic conditions and of the development of the creative forces, but a kind of exceptional situation -- an economic, political, and psychological one. Analyzing the experiences of revolution in Russia since 1905, Lenin observed that "under the influence of a series of conditions entirely peculiar to Russia, backward Russia was the first to show the world not only a rapid growth of the creative initiative of the oppressed masses during revolution -- but also the meaning of the proletariat, much greater than the proletariat's ratio to the general population...." (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, pp 76-77).

Repeating many times that revolution cannot be "carried out on order, even though it is inevitable," Lenin indicated that revolution is impossible without "the great hidden work which was made deep in the consciousness of the people," and without "a growing dissatisfaction of the masses." From this he drew the conclusion that communists cannot "decree a revolution," but they can "help bring it about" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 26, pp 288-289).

Lenin's concept of a revolutionary situation was a synthesis of his reflection about the prerequisites and conditions for revolution. "To a Marxist, there is no doubt that a revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation, and that not every revolutionary situation leads to revolution" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 21, p 216). There are three basic qualities of a revolutionary situation according to Lenin: "1) The impossibility of the ruling class to maintain power in an unaltered form; some 'summit' crisis or other, a crisis of the ruling class's policy creating a hole through which the displeasure and anger of the property classes is emerging. In order to have a revolution it is usually not enough for the 'rank and file not to want' to live in the old manner; the hierarchy must also 'be unable' to do so. 2) An increase in the poverty and distress of the oppressed classes beyond the normal extent thereof. 3) A considerable growth, for the abovementioned reasons, of the activity of the masses, who during the 'peaceful' period calmly allow themselves to be robbed, but in stormy times are drawn into independent historic activity both by the general crisis conditions and by the 'people at the top' themselves.... Without these changes, which occur regardless of the will not only of individual groups and parties, but also of individual classes, revolution is as a rule impossible.

"The entire structure of these conditions is called a revolutionary situation" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 21, pp 216-217). According to Lenin, "revolution is not the result of every revolutionary situation, but only of the kind of situation where in addition to the above objective causes there are also subjective ones, namely: the ability of the revolutionary class to undertake revolutionary mass actions, and enough strength to break (or undermine) the old government which will never fall, not even during crises, unless it is 'toppled' (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 21, p 217).

The Leninist concept of a revolutionary situation was an assessment of the theory of revolution propounded by Marx and Engels, but with its own ideas added. In Lenin's concept, the objective conditions for revolution, including socialist revolution, are, above all, an accumulation of "combustible material" in social life and in economics, politics, and culture; the existence of sources that "can cause an unexpected fire." (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, p 181). In this chain of conditions, the economic factor -- a certain level of development, but also a certain level of underdevelopment of the productive forces -- brings about other features "when all else fails." The leadership role of Russia's proletariat in the world workers movement, Lenin wrote, "is not explained by the country's economic development. On the contrary, it is explained by Russia's backwardness and the incompetence of its so-called bourgeoisie to cope with the huge tasks connected both with war and the elimination of war -- all this incited the proletariat to assume political power and to introduce a class dictatorship" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 27, p 571). The subjective conditions ("the second condition for revolution") are "aside from the proletariat's readiness to commit the act, a general state of crisis among all the ruling parties and bourgeois parties." "The revolutionary party must carefully analyze these conditions, and soberly and objectively consider all the class forces on a national and international scale, as well as the experiences of the revolutionary movements" (LENIN'S WORKS, Volume 31, p 49).

An important feature in relation to the classic theory of revolution, and, above all, in relation to the concept of the Second International and its key party, German Social Democracy, was Lenin's view on the matter of "achieving the majority." Unlike the theoreticians of West European social democracy, Lenin recognized two different aspects of this theory. The first aspect was the chance to shape the consciousness of the socialist majority of the workers class before the assumption of power. The theoreticians of social democracy observed such a chance, and based their thoughts on the subjective prerequisites for revolution on it. Lenin was much more of a realist, he saw more clearly the strength and effectiveness of the property classes' ideological influence on the consciousness and attitudes of the workers class. "It is the conviction of the old parties and the old leaders of the Second International that the majority of the working and exploited masses can receive a fully clear socialist awareness, can perceive the permanence of socialist convictions and of the nature of socialism under capitalist slavery and under the pressure of the bourgeoisie. The more cultural a given capitalist country is, the more varied the forms of this pressure are, which are becoming all the more refined, and at the same time the more brutal and merciless" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, p 179). Lenin believed that only after the assumption of power, when the proletarian vanguard "overthrows the exploiters, crushes them, liberates the exploited masses from their slavery, and immediately improves their standard of living at the cost of the dispossessed capitalists -- only then, and during a sharp class battle, is enlightenment and education possible. Only then is it possible to organize the broadest working and exploited masses around the proletariat and bring them under the proletariat's influence and leadership. Only then is it possible to liberate them from the egoism, separation, faults, and weaknesses that cause private ownership, and transform them into a free union of free workers" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, p 179).

The second aspect is the support of the majority of the workers class and of the working masses for the action of the vanguard as a condition sine qua non [words published in Latin] for obtaining, and, above all, maintaining power. Lenin wrote about support for the proletarian vanguard "by the entire class" -- "the only revolutionary class" -- or "by its majority." In any case, Lenin said as early as spring 1917 that "as long as there is no support by the majority of the people, an attempt to assume power would be adventurism or blanquism" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 24, p 212). The decision by the Bolsheviks to seize power in October 1917 was based on the conviction that they really do have "the support of the majority."

Against the background of the first polemics and controversy around Russia's "unripeness" for socialist revolution and socialist transformations, and of the consequences thereof for the strategy of the Bolshevik party, Lenin formulated an unusually interesting thought about the relative ease of commencing a revolution in Russia and the complications involved in socialist transformations. It was easy for Russia to commence a socialist revolution in the specific and historically rare situation of 1917, however, it will be more difficult for Russia to continue the revolution and finish it than it will be for the European countries" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 31, p 49). Unlike in Russia, "the beginning of revolution" in Western Europe is considerably more difficult because "there are no idiots like Romanov or coxcombs like Kerenskiy at the helm in those countries. Instead, there are serious capitalist leaders, which Russia never had" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 27, p 316). "People find it terrible to start a revolution in country that is highly developed and has an excellently organized bourgeoisie... but it will be all the easier to complete the socialist revolution victoriously after it has erupted in the leading capitalist countries of Europe" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 27, p 573).

The ideas contained in the article "Concerning Our Revolution," published in 1923, were a synthesis of Lenin's stance on the subject of Russia's ripeness for socialist. This article polemized with the "unusually trite argument" that Russia "has not become ripe for socialism because it does not possess, as various learned gentlemen say... the objective economic prerequisites for socialism.... And no one will think of asking: Could a nation which has reached a revolutionary situation resort, under the influence of the hopeless situation it has found itself in, to the kind of battle that would give it at least the chance of gaining conditions for further civilizational development?" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 33, p 495).

Enriching the revolutionary theory of Marx and Engels and modifying his own views under the influence of new experiences, Lenin wrote: "If a certain level of culture is necessary for the creation of socialism (although no one can say what this 'certain level of culture' is supposed to be since it is different in every country), then we cannot first achieve the prerequisites for this certain level of culture by means of revolution and then, based on worker-peasant power and the Soviet system, commence catching up with other nations." (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 33, pp 495-496).

Lenin, however, had no illusions about the fact that in Russia's case, this "catching up" would be achieved "through toil."

After the victory of the revolution in Russia, socialist in the theoretical sphere, "in the sphere of dogma, books, and programs, proceeded to the sphere of practical work. Now it is the workers and peasants who are building socialism with their own hands." According to Lenin, the times when socialism and the program of creation "were discussed on the basis of books" had gone, never to return. "Now one can only talk about socialism on the basis of experience" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 26, p 285).

Socialism in Soviet Russia emerged in conditions completely different to those Marx and Engels had foreseen and the leaders of the Second International, especially the German social democrats, had assumed. What was new compared to these forecasts was not only a victory of revolution in a country economically and civilizationally backward, but also victory in a country ruined and ravaged by a long war. It is worth recalling by the way, that Engels foresaw in 1887 the possibility of a victorious socialist revolution as a result of a world war, and the possibility of creating socialism in a situation where war had economic, moral-psychological, and very unfavorable consequences. "Eight to ten million soldiers will clutch at each other's throats, destroying the whole of Europe in a way never achieved by any plague of locusts. It will be like all the ravages of the 30 Years' War condensed into 3 or 4 years and spread all over the continent: the hunger and disease, the soldiers and civilians turned wild by the general famine, the total collapse of our trade, industry, and financial system, and finally general bankruptcy, the collapse of the old nations and their collective intelligence, and this to such a degree that crowns will fall onto the sidewalks in dozens and no one will be found to pick them up.... Only one result is absolutely sure: general collapse and the emergence of the right conditions for a final victory by the workers class" (THE MARX-ENGELS WORKS, Vol 17, pp 1983-195).

Lenin describes Engels' opinion as a "wonderful prophecy" and "prophetic words." Engels' "general prophecies" became a starting point for Lenin's thoughts about creating a socialist society in Russia, as well as the starting point for merciless criticism of "people in a sheath," "dawdlers among the bourgeois intelligentsia describing themselves as social democrats and socialists" who "join the bourgeoisie in blaming the revolution for wild and inevitably severe methods of struggle, with exceptional cases of severity -- although it is as clear as daylight that this wildness was caused by the imperialist war, and that no revolution is able to rid itself of such consequences of war without a long struggle and without a series of severe repressive measures" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 27, pp 520-521). Lenin also mercilessly attacked those who are "ready 'in theory' to recognize revolution by the proletariat and by the other oppressed classes as permissible, as long as this revolution falls from heaven and is not created on earth, which is soiled with the blood of a 4-year-long imperialist slaughter of people, and is not formed among millions of people who have been tired out by and have become wild during this slaughter" (LENIN'S WORKS, Vol 27, p 521). Recalling Marx words about the birth of revolution, Lenin stressed that "birth can be easy and it can be difficult. Marx and Engels always spoke about long birth pains, inevitably connected with the transition from capitalism to socialism. And Engels, analyzing the consequences of world war, describes simply and explicitly the undeniable and obvious fact that revolution taking place after a war and connected with war... is a particularly heavy birth case (the above work, pp 521-522).

The revolution in Russia was such a "particularly heavy birth case" for Lenin, as well. Birth pains began all over the world for the old capitalist society, which was pregnant with socialism. Especially heavy suffering connected with the first period of labor now has commenced for our country, which has been temporarily transferred to the vanguard of the socialist revolution by the chain of events" (the above work, pp 522-523).

PRESS SPOKESMAN HOLDS CONFERENCE 27 SEP

Remarks on Unemployment

LD272258 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Sept -- There are 140 people officially registered as unemployed in Poland, said Minister Jerzy Urban at today's routine press conference for foreign

newsmen, while denying AFP reports on the alleged number of people in this country barred from work on political grounds and unable to seek reinstatement. According to the French agency that figure was fixed at some 150,000-200,000.

At the same time, the minister said that since December last there have been 326,000 idle workstands against the average number of 7,900 people seeking employment last year. The professional idleness of job seekers usually lasts from several to ten-odd days, he remarked.

Next, Minister Urban reported on some difficulties in ensuring work for some Solidarnosc trade union full-time employees and put the blame on their wage aspirations.

In order to further substantiate the absurdity of the numbers quoted by AFP, the minister pointed out that only 5,544 decisions to sack an employee were appealed to labour courts this year.

According to AGENCE FRANCE PRESS, 1,000 newsmen were fired from the Committee for Radio and TV over the last period of time, namely those who allegedly "were not manifesting sufficient enthusiasm for the regime" the minister remarked and stated that the committee employs 9,200 people nationwide, including 2,000 journalists. Due to reorganization of the committee and usual rotation of cadres 403 persons were fired, 172 newsmen in that number. Half of the redundant journalists were proved their longtime professional passiveness. [sentence as received]

Also according to AFP, the same situation prevails inside higher schools with numerous employees allegedly written on the so-called black list. In fact, Minister Urban said, the Ministry for Higher Education carried out a personnel inspection designed to ensure those most talented and most fitted for educational work their due development possibilities.

Following the inspection, out of the total number of 42,000 academic teachers 1,329 persons were asked to dissolve their work contract. Out of that figure, 1,034 people were employed as assistants, 14 were assistant professors, 137 worked as senior lecturers and 144 were lecturers with higher scientific titles.

"Not a single professor was fired, and no single motion to fire one was filed", stressed Minister Urban.

Answering a question on pulling down crosses which were put up in some schools, Minister Urban said the Polish Constitution provides for the separation between the state and the Church.

"The government is not going to declare war on crosses and does not find this the crucial point. What is the crucial point is to prevent clericalization of the public life," he said. He also stressed that "the [word indistinct] to avoid conflicts and to expand the plane of agreement with the Church. Putting up crosses in schools induces conflict-bearing situations, which should be avoided".

While discussing the course of the meeting between Deputy Prime Minister Roman Malinowski and Primate Jozef Glemp, the government spokesmen said this was an unofficial meeting before the primate's take-off for Rome and another example of constant contacts and dialogue between state authorities and the Roman Catholic Church.

During the (?meeting) with the primate, Deputy Prime Minister Malinowski presented in detail the current condition of Poland's farming and said that situation in the country's food market is constantly and clearly changing for the better.

Also, the number of people employed in farming has gone up this year, the first time in People's Poland, Malinowski declared. Moreover, [word indistinct] was noted in what the deputy prime minister described as the structure of farms.

It was moreover stressed during the meeting that the project [word indistinct] of a hard currency fund to aid the development of farming may speed up that development.

In reply to another question, Minister Urban would not rule out the possibility of a meeting between General Jaruzelski and Primate Glemp after the latter returns from Rome.

Church-State Relations

LD272332 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Excerpts] At the weekly meeting with foreign journalists, which took place today, the government press spokesman straightened out the false information given by Western correspondents and spoke of current issues in the sphere of state-Church relations.

The spokesman was asked to expound on the current state of state-Church relations. The Western press has been proclaiming recently that a crisis has arisen in these relations. I have had the opportunity of stating more than once here, that there is no such crisis, the spokesman stressed. On the other hand, everything that happens in Poland concerning Church problems is interpreted by the Western press as a symptom of a crisis. For example, AP extensively commented on an article which appeared in POLITYKA by Zenon Rudny, as a significant political event. It also claimed that Western observers are of the opinion that this article was allegedly written by a leading government advisor. This is not true. Apparently Western journalists, who, generally speaking, go by the principle of press freedom, consider that all critical thought on the subject of any aspect whatsoever of Church policy is punishable; they consider that Church topics in Poland, in the Polish press, are taboo.

Commenting on the session of the Government-Episcopate Joint Commission on the 26th of this month, as well as the meeting between Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, and Primate Jozef Glemp, which took place on the same day, the spokesman stated: There are many contacts, and many platforms for dialogue. The session of the joint commission is reported in the communique. I can add that it lasted for 4 hours; as usual many current issues were discussed, sometimes controversial ones. These controversial issues were mainly presented by the government side. This session was considered useful by the government, a session which will bear fruit in the sphere of state-Church relations.

Deputy Premier Malinowski paid a visit to the primate. This meeting lasted 1 hour 15 minutes. Deputy Premier Malinowski said that the conversation was a concrete one, and that it took place in a very favorable atmosphere. On many issues, according to the deputy premier, a consensus of views or mutual understanding of (?the controversial) arguments occurred. The Church initiative concerning hard currency support for agriculture, the minister continued, is one of the factors which may enrich the agricultural program in the future.

During the talk between the primate and the deputy premier, the activity of the government-Church team that is working on this issue was assessed; at the proposal of the deputy premier, a joint decision was taken to bring about an acceleration of the work.

Since this team has so far been meeting only once a month, the team will soon receive the draft bill on foundations which is being prepared by the Justice Ministry. It is, however, (?necessary) to understand, Jerzy Urban stated, that this is a draft bill not about the fund concerning agriculture and Church aid, but a draft bill introducing the possibility for the existence of foundations in Poland, which were legally eliminated 30 years ago. The team will discuss this draft. It will be able to submit observations. By acquainting itself with this draft the team will be able to commence work on the draft statute of that foundation in particular. Also mentioned in the conversation, the minister said, was the importance of grassroots cooperation between the state and the Church for the cause of national accord on behalf of the great reforms. The common interest in broadening the platform of cooperation between the state and the Church, and at the same time in narrowing the platform for disputes or conflicts, was confirmed.

What sort of disputes and conflicts are these? Those about which I have been asked at the numerous press conferences preceding today's, Jerzy Urban stated. ABC Television has addressed to me a question about the government's attitude toward the practice of hanging religious emblems, particularly crosses, in schools and other state institutions. Our state is secular in character and according to the law of 14 July 1961, schools also [words indistinct] have a secular nature. According to the Constitution the division between state and Church is binding, between religious beliefs and the (?state.) It is in the interests of the entire community, as well as in the interests of the Church, to respect this principle, for it constitutes the basis on which freedom of denomination and religious tolerance come into being. The freedoms of the Church in Poland are enormous and the range of the Church's activity is broad.

The principle of the separation of Church and state implies that religious symbols cannot appear in state institutions. These principles ought not to be strange to American TV, which asked about this issue, the government spokesman stated. As far as I know, in the United States it is also prohibited to hang crosses in schools and state establishments, as it is in France, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Britain, and in many parts of the FRG. There are states where there is no division between Church and state, such as Iran, or such where the question of religious emblems has been regulated by concordat, for example in Italy or Spain. Religious beliefs are the private concern of citizens, Jerzy Urban said. Every Pole can freely demonstrate his religious convictions and hang religious symbols in his house or on his person. There are numerous places of worship, Church centers, shrines, and so on, where the cross on the wall is in its proper place. Appropriate religious symbols should be placed only in places allocated for them, or agreed in such a way as not to affront the identity of the lay state. The state and the Church should not, in the opinion of the government, develop grounds for potential conflicts but should narrow them. Crosses at schools constitute potential [words indistinct] grounds for conflicts, even if attempted cases to hang crosses are not numerous.

Some parents wish to have crosses, some do not. Thus there exist realistic grounds for the creation of conflicts and disputes. We think that no one wants such grounds for conflicts, and they should not be created.

The last question concerned places other than schools where religious symbols are to be found. In public places in Poland, the spokesman replied, there are very many crosses. This is normal, and has been traditionally accepted. These are streets, squares, houses, and so on. The government, the minister said, does not want a war against crosses, but attempts at clericalization of state establishments must be met with firm determination.

The full text of the communique will appear in tomorrow's press.

TV PRESENTS PROGRAM ON WALESA ENTITLED 'MONEY'

LD272132 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] [Announcer] In a moment we shall broadcast a program entitled "Money." Because the heroes of this program use vulgar expressions we ask children and young persons not to watch. We also inform you that we have removed excerpts that are insulting to the pope, the Church, and Polish Church personalities from the conversation of persons appearing in this program.

It is 25 August 1983 at the Lenin shipyard. Lech Walesa says, among other things, stop talking about my millions. I am a Pole and I have no accounts in the West. He thus repeated what he said as Solidarity chairman.

[Begin recording] [Walesa] I want to say I have one suit -- no two, one is a wedding suit that I still have -- four pairs of socks -- two with holes. I did not get anything. I do not take money.

[Unidentified speaker] What do you live on?

[Walesa] I invite anyone to have a look. I bought another refrigerator. The clothes -- I received them recently from Father Jankowski. Of course today I receive money, for the prizes [words indistinct] [end recording]

[Announcer] For nearly 1 1/2 years the biggest news agencies and newspapers of the world were full of information about the prizes for Walesa: amounts were mentioned in crowns, dollars, pounds and Deutsch marks. The prizes were awarded by Western dailies, social organizations, and political parties.

The prizes were awarded to Walesa not just when he was the chairman of Solidarity, but also after the introduction of the martial law. They were received, for instance, by Father [name indistinct] and the head of the so-called Brussels Office of Solidarity Jerzy Milewski.

Here is the place of detention of Lech Walesa. Here, in Arlamow, on 29 and 30 (?September) 1982 he met his brother Stanislaw Walesa, resident of Bydgoszcz. During the visit Walesa made an admission. The conversation was recorded, without the knowledge of the brother, by Stanislaw Walesa. He used a miniature Sanyo tape recorder. The tape and the recorder were seized by the militia.

Here at the Bydgoszcz Voivodship Militia Command on 4 October 1982 Stanislaw Walesa listened to the recording of the conversation with his brother, recorded in Arlamow on the tape of the miniature tape recorder. Having listened to the recording Stanislaw Walesa made a statement in which he confirmed the authenticity of the recording. [recorded passage indistinct]

[Announcer] Receipt: I herewith confirm the receipt of Sanyo tape recorder No 11126828, type TR05900, without the cassette. On the cassette there is a recording of a conversation I held with my brother Lech Walesa on 29 September at the detention center in Arlamow for my private and family use, as it was his birthday on that day. I herewith receive the recorder in good working order. [words indistinct] Here are excerpts from the conversation of the two brothers. Because the recording was made by an amateur its quality is poor. Because of this our reader will read the transcript of the conversation, which first you will hear in the original. As Lech Walesa is using many vulgar expressions our reader will omit some words. [recorded passage indistinct]

[Reader] Well, I do not know. What they want to do is to block all the accounts in the West. At the same time they want to cut me off from my family sources. Do you get it? Wojtek has something to do with it. I do not know what. Anyway, they are basing it on him; and he has done another thing, so that they will cut off my actual income, to which he could refer and draw from elsewhere. Do you get it? But he could refer to them. They will cut them off and the others I cannot touch, because of ambition, because I am a social activist and so forth.

They want to blur it. At the same time I want to do something first. I have done so already as you know. You know it. Theoretically this is a long way away, as I get on with the lower Church hierarchy better than the upper hierarchy. Therefore, they will not touch me here. But in practice I could not, not to prove it to them. They will say to me, Mister, since you do not work. They do help me, yes. Anyway as my brother you must cash something. Well, the problem rests in the fact that today this is a trifling matter. For a year, too. But you know in some 5 or 10 years, you must think what to do to have an alibi. I will not go to work, because they will not allow me to work. In addition they will [word indistinct] Of course I could be kept by Fathe Jankowski or somebody. Two or three years and then [recorded passage indistinct]

[Reader] I cannot because I am a social activist. I can take for the family but in the family someone must be responsible. Someone who would overcome this. You know that altogether this is over \$1 million. This is not Z1 or Z100. Someone must cash it and deposit it somewhere. But I do not know. It is not possible to bring it into the country. I have heard people have called here. This priest from Przemyśl saying that they would open an account in the papal bank. They give 15 percent there. Well, let us say 10 percent. This means that in 10 years time the whole business is doubled. There is more than \$1 million.

Someone would have to deal with it, to open a bank account, pay it into this papal bank and so on. But I cannot touch it, because they would be [words indistinct] With just one person it is the same. This means you can take it but I cannot as I am a social activist. But can you on your own?

No, I cannot, as they would cut my head off.

Today Z1 million. Now we have over \$1 million. And this \$1 million must be arranged in such a way as to keep the family indefinitely. It is unknown when and at the same time is unknown [as heard] [recorded passage indistinct]

[Reader] In the country let us say 500 million [currency not stated]. At the same time I would like to get the Nobel, although to hell with it, the Church is being negative. I would get it if it were not for the Church, but the Church is starting to be awkward. The Church has a different policy, a far-sighted one, as even the pope has been put forward.

Yes, and this proves it. But on the 13th. But this could be. But now this is a very good move. I am on a collision course with the pope.

Oh, no. From this point of view it is a mistake.

I should renounce it for the pope's benefit. At the same time I cannot renounce it, as in fact I would like to get it. What matters is not the \$200,000 but what matters, you know, is the political issue. Should I get it, to say that I do not want it. This could be something else. I discussed it during my recent stay in Czestochowa. And they were impressed that their Lech was taking a stand. And this would be stronger still. I should renounce it.

It is not that your status would be raised.

Could I win against the pope?

Should you win? [recorded passage indistinct]

[Reader] You take care of it, and later we change places, you take politics, I have had enough of politics. Listen, this is my politics; you don't like politics, no, I don't like money. [passage indistinct] I was also in the West, when I am in need then he will give me. Somebody called Robert is related? What a traitor, if he took \$1.5 million. He is of the Walesa family. True, I was informed by Nowicki that he is of the Walesa family, some brother of grandfather Jan, but he is a simpleton like us. He may be, do it so you can guide your family and mine. Yes, in the end they are going to intern me, before it happens go abroad. Wait, I tell you to go abroad with your family, wife, and children. Then, you must deal with these matters. [recorded passage indistinct]

[Reader] My proposal is, and the Church agreed, for 15 percent, by handing over to the Vatican over \$1 million. They pay us 15 percent on \$1 million. That is \$150,000. Calculated in zlotys it is a lot of money, but who is going to take care of it? I cannot do it, naturally. We can give 60,000 for Panorama, some to the Solzhenitsyn prize, and some we can turn down, but altogether we have at our disposal \$1 million. It is like this -- you will not get any younger, but you will secure your future. Perhaps it will not fall to us to carry out the order, but somebody else; we were able to do something, not much, but we did it. Now if we cannot win, let us leave it. Let our children do it, yours or mine. I cannot do it, so you do it. I give it to you, so. Prepare me a note, and I will sign it so as to settle with the Church, then I can be considered as one who puts things in order. No, I as the elder beg and plead and so on because I am older. [recorded passage indistinct]

[Reader] Listen, this is not a penny, if it were just one or two hundred thousand, but you know this is over a \$1 million and that is a lot in our money. You know it has always been, no, no, but now as we have mentioned these matters ...we have now got to such a high level in the Church...do you think I like it? I think very seriously now, I have no other way out, I have to get into this deeper, you know, this week, you heard in Sweden and Norway, this is well over \$100,000 [words indistinct] In total it is over 100,000 and nobody is keeping a record of it. Some will deny, you know some will deny, if we play they will deny. Don't rely on me. [words indistinct] You can stay away, you can ask. Of course you are in a better situation, even if you find yourself close to the pope then I shall say he is to receive you, and that he is to deal with these matters, let them deal with these matters, someone will come. I thought it was going to be Mazowiecki, but Mazowiecki will never come out, so I decided that I shall agree to the 15, at a Rome bank, but someone has to collect it; listen we have at our disposal a power, this power is not just a peasant power. [recorded passage indistinct]

[Reader] What do you care, you will be in Switzerland or in [word indistinct] You will be on some ship. What do you care? Well you may think so, but I could not even go there [words indistinct] I just know I cannot make a move, all of my moves are...of course, today I am riding on the crest of the wave but in 10 years time, it is obvious, the general will get me by the nose [passage indistinct] It will be necessary to keep it for 100 years, maybe 50, let your grandchildren or mine deal with it, but let them deal with it. I thought so, the Vatican State will last for ever. (?They) want 15 percent, someone will have to deal with it. [passage indistinct]

I don't know, I shall have to think about it. [words indistinct] You are better at political thinking than I am. Think how to do it. No, no more politics. Politics is finished. [passage indistinct] Then think, maybe in France, maybe invest it in gold, in factories, or in land, invest a \$1 million, you have such wealth and if you don't then you will again...but not here. [words indistinct] in order to win financially. [recorded passage indistinct]

[Reader] Maybe less. Fifteen percent since they give me 15 percent. In 8 years this is doubled. If you now have a million you will have two. This pays. Or otherwise seven. I will not live that long. Seven years you have two. Seven years you have twice as much. This means if you work for your children you have \$2 million in 7 years. Maybe in marks or pounds. Or maybe oil. Or maybe you buy shares, as in the West things are different. If you buy oil shares.

Well, one time I will buy and another time, I do not know, I will loose. While we did not have it things were simple. Just as I thought. When I did not have it things were simple. When I [words indistinct] I bought it and it worked. And now when I have got it I do not know what move to make, because the mark is losing, francs and Swedish kronor are falling. Where should one put one's stake? You must record this for me. I do not know for how much. This is your business.

Go away, do not say it is mine. You have \$200,000. Otherwise it will not work out.

Money does not matter to me.

Why do you give it then to the riff-raff? To my knowledge this is \$200,000. But you must earn this minimum of 200,000 [words indistinct] maybe this is illogical. Maybe we will succeed. But at the same time let us think that you and I will not succeed. We may continue not succeeding. But I cannot. This is clear.

But maybe your child and mine, no one knows. Let us allow them opportunities, life and so on, so that they do not complain about you, or them or be about their opportunities. [words indistinct]

[Begin recording] [Walesa] My personal matters. Stop talking about my millions. I am a Pole and I have no accounts in the West. I have not appropriated a single penny. [end recording]

POLITBURO VIEWS TRADE UNIONS, MADRID MEETING

AU261719 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Sep 83 pp 1-2

[Excerpts] (PAP) -- The PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the Government Presidium of the PPR held a joint session on 22 September. The session, which was attended by chairmen of the registered national trade union organizations, considered the results of the Katowice session of trade union activists in the Baildon metallurgical plant, including the problems of socialist activities in factories aimed at improving the conditions of the workers class and all people.

The session stressed that the regenerating trade union movement is becoming a real social force and the most massive organization of the working people in Poland. The movement is heir to the rich traditions of trade unionism and continues to absorb its experience and to recognize the nature of workers' protest. All the positive intentions and constructive ideas born during that protest are an important component part of the programmatic assumptions of the new trade organizations.

The session noted that the rebirth of the Polish trade union movement is an important sociopolitical fact, which is of particular significance for stabilizing public life in Poland and for guaranteeing the irreversibility of the processes by which socialist democracy is strengthened. The involvement of ever increasing numbers of young workers in the trade union movement is an especially favorable social phenomenon. Boycotting and slandering the regenerating trade union movement, which is being done by the opponents of socialist renewal, is one form of class warfare and is finding ever diminishing acceptance among the working people.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the Government Presidium reaffirmed their position on trade unions and stressed the importance of their strength, independence, self-government, consolidated role in solving the working people's problems, and concern for the socialist character of trade unionism. All this should be reflected with an increasing force in the activities of party organizations and in the individual militancy of PZPR members to strengthen the prestige and position of trade unions.

The workers class and other working communities continue to expect with increasing frequency that trade unions will be a responsible representative of the labor world, will ensure for it a genuine influence on settling all problems involving work wages, and living conditions, and will be an independent partner of the authorities in making and implementing socioeconomic decisions.

The session stressed that trade unions continue to respond with increasing frequency to these expectations and to become genuine champions of the problems of the working people. Although the country's difficult economic position makes it impossible to meet some needs, the individual trade unions are able to effectively improve the living and working conditions of their work forces even under such circumstances.

The Politburo and the Government Presidium take the view that conditions are now ripe for the Polish trade union movement to be represented this year in the Socioeconomic Council attached to the Sejm of the PPR and the Commission for Economic Reform.

The views of trade unionists indicate the complicated nature of the consultations concerning the key problems of socioeconomic life and suggest that different attitudes are held toward the aspirations and activities of trade unions in individual factories.

The Politburo and the Government Presidium state that the discontent of many trade union organizations with the present state of consultations is justified by the still imperfect system of the performance of this new form of co-management and shared responsibility. Taking into account trade unionists' critical views, it is necessary to improve the system under which trade unions participate in consulting on socioeconomic decisions, especially in drawing up collective work contracts.

The Politburo and the Government Presidium instruct the appropriate bodies of state and economic administration to honestly consult trade unions on the plans for socioeconomic development in 1984 at the factory level and at the local and central levels. Trade unions are also an important consultant on the issues of wage policy.

The quantitative development of trade unions, their position in the state, the lines of their ideological orientation, and the strengthening of their credibility among working people are issues that determine the practical performance of the institutions of workers' democracy. That is why supporting the initiatives of trade unions and the aspirations of workers concerning the production and distribution of the national income is the supreme duty of the PZPR organizations, cells, and members.

The PZPR members' massive participation in trade unions and in developing and implementing the trade union movement's program is the correct way in which the party exerts its ideological impact on trade union's practical activities. State and economic administration should implement partnerlike cooperation with trade unions in an atmosphere of sympathy and respect due to them.

The Politburo and the Government Presidium studied a report on the course and results of the Madrid meeting of representatives of the states which participated in the CSCE, including the course and results of the concluding session held at the foreign ministers level in Madrid on 7-9 September 1983.

The session positively evaluated the results of the meeting and approved of the activities of the Polish delegation. The adoption of the final document, which reaffirmed the decisions made in Helsinki, is of particular significance in the present tense international situation when the political line of confrontation promoted by the U.S. Administration -- this line is demonstrated by new armaments and, especially, by the ruthless insistence of the U.S. that new U.S. missiles be installed in Western Europe -- constitutes a serious threat to peace in Europe and the world. In a situation in which imperialist centers continue to shift the ideological contradictions of the two systems to the sphere of interstate relations and to apply illegal restrictions that upset the conditions of equal international cooperation, the role of dialogue as the only effective way of solving difficult problems arising between states is increasing all the more. The results of the Madrid meeting and the participation in its conclusion of foreign ministers from 35 CSCE states can help improve East-West relations and all-European cooperation.

The session issued the instruction that necessary efforts should be made to implement the Madrid meeting decisions.

TRYBUNA LUDU ON CURRENT TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENT

AU271558 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24/25 Sep 83 p 1

[Teresa Grabczynska commentary: "Trade Unionism -- a Partner for Workers"]

[Excerpts] There are now in Poland over 3.3 million trade unionists and the trade union movement is becoming a mass organization of the working people. This is what the facts tell us and this is the harvest of the year since the passing of the trade union law. Production workers are the most militant trade union activists and are engaging in trade union work because they feel themselves responsible for the affairs of work forces and because they want workers' problems to be considered with justice and dignity.

Trade union ranks are dominated by workers who are often heads of trade union organizations, which are becoming platforms for the integration of work forces and which genuinely represent the problems of the working people. The new trade union activists, who are truly at home with the reality of their factories, continue to struggle for the status and credibility of trade unionism while struggling for workers' interests. Some of them have assumed such social tasks for the first time while others are rich in experience. All of them still have to combat the barriers of mistrust and the attitudes of passivity and expectation. They often have to do their work under pressure from opponents, who try to slander the regenerating trade union movement in various ways. All the same, trade unions are now a real and considerable social force. Their voice in factories has gained considerable significance.

The position of trade unionism and its role in the country's social life are gaining in strength as was demonstrated during the meeting in the Baildon foundry with Premier General Jaruzelski. This important meeting produced some 100 trade union proposals on such important issues as the better functioning of the system of consultation and partnerlike cooperation with administrative bodies at various levels, consultations on collective work contracts, and distribution of the social fund.

The Baildon foundry meeting produced a frank and critical discussion, which was constructive all the same. In his response, Gen W. Jaruzelski gave assurances that the rich harvest of the meeting will be carefully considered and discussed at the Politburo and government sessions and invited representatives of trade union federations to attend these sessions.

A new stage in the development and consolidation of trade unions has been initiated and a new and unprecedented quality of relations between trade unions and state authority is being created. The principle of complete partnership, cooperation, and dialogue is beginning to be implemented.

The consolidation of the regenerating trade union movement is not proceeding smoothly -- without resistance and hindrances. The political adversary is not giving up his attacks. Nor is there a lack of obstacles caused by previous habits and red tape practices. That is why the development and the socialist character of trade unions, which are organizations that represent the people's class interests, should be all the more an object of special party concern. Party organizations and cells must be more militant in supporting trade union work. PZPR members' participation in trade unions amounts simply to the party's ideological influence on trade union work and is in no way in conflict with the self-governing and independent nature of trade unions.

POLITYKA VIEWS POSITION OF CATHOLIC CHURCH

AU271450 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 24 Sep 83 p 6

[Zenon Rudny article: "Render Unto Caesar What Is Caesar's and Unto God What Is God's"]

[Text] The vision of the Roman Catholic Church's strength, following John Paul's II pilgrimage -- this vision was created by Prof Jan Szczepanski in his article "The Visit" (POLITYKA, Issue No 30) -- and the prospects for cooperation on the principle of inequality can strike fear into every non-Catholic and even a Catholic who regards the present terms of the Church's activities as optimal.

There also exist justified doubts that the increase in the Church's material and political might will go hand in hand with the greater honesty of parishioners in discharging their duties as workers and citizens, with respect for public and private property, with honesty in people-to-people relations, with sobriety -- with the values that should be part and parcel of the Christian model of life. In this connection, let me cite a statement by Professor Szczepanski: "Perhaps in our daily work we Poles will bear in mind that the pope is with everyone of us and watches our actions. How many of us will he have to weep for?" This seems to symbolize the entire drama of frustration in the area of the phenomenon represented by Polish Catholicism. The morality of workers has never been among the Catholic Church's priority tasks. If it were, a large number of Catholic countries would now be enjoying economic prosperity. The encyclical "Laborem Exercens" has changed nothing in practice, just as the encyclical "Humane Vitae" has changed nothing in man-woman relations.

Even the most serious attempt to include the ethos of work within the Church's social ideology will not produce the results achieved in the times of Luther and Calvin. That is why we may speak of a chance irreparably lost. The moral aspects of the process of penetration by increased "religiousness" in the areas of life other than work should also be regarded as wishful thinking. That which was supposed to penetrate has already penetrated and has become a universal achievement of mankind. In no area of human activity in our country is it possible to note that believers' morality is greater than that of nonbelievers. The present-day Pole has been able to bring his eclecticism (participation in religious rituals plus lay motivation) to perfection. Issue No 30 of POLITYKA carries a shocking report on young rapists from Biskupice, who, if asked, would certainly reply that they are "believers." I think that aside from the fact that man is generally slow in perceiving the principles of morality, the situation is aggravated by the Church's commitment to too many aims to be able to implement all of them as they should be implemented. The issues of morality are not the most important ones in the hierarchy of these tasks. We can even say that morality is not at all necessary for achieving the main aim -- the construction of the Church's material and political might.

We use terms such as "ardent religiousness" and "outbreak of religiousness." That which we observe, especially in spectacular forms and that which is the basis for such ideas as "ardent religiousness" and "outbreak of religiousness" is not religiousness, but actually a show. Seeing that it is useless to engage in an open confrontation with the power apparatus, the opposition has embraced a new form of contest in the shadow of the Galilee, which also helps increase the temperature of "religiousness." The opposition is even less interested than the Church in the reflective form of religiousness. Can we give the name of religiousness to the emotional states of people who have a very slight idea of the principle of Christian religion, whose encounter with the pope does not make them one whit better in their daily lives, who are able to experience a communion only with the material props of the Catholic religion -- with figures, paintings, and coronations -- and who, at the drop of a hat, would burn a party committee rather than rescue a human being lynched by a crowd. Indeed, the awareness of this should pain all enlightened Catholics. We would like to believe that the Episcopate, which has shown so much wisdom in the past, difficult years, will begin to foster a more "intellectual" model of faith among the faithful. The ritual model of religiousness leads nowhere, no matter how integrating it may seem. It is astonishing that the Polish community, which is so impressed with the West and its examples of civilization and culture, continues to cultivate such an anachronistic model of religiousness. This model cannot be preserved in the long run. The Church, which operates in terms of eternity, will make changes in this regard sooner or later. Before the second council many problems also seemed to be intractable.

It is important that the definition of religiousness made by the party is correct. An erroneous diagnosis leads to erroneous conclusions, that is, to an erroneous religious policy. I think that the evaluation of religiousness made by one of our publicists, stressing the typical dualism of the present-day Polish Catholic (the lay model of life and lay motivations plus participation in religious rituals) is very accurate.

I agree with Prof Szczepanski that the struggle against religion in our country should be halted (that is, if such a struggle is still going on in our country). But I am a little at sea in understanding how the state "should make it even more obvious through its actions" that religion is a private matter. When in the Sejm Osmanczyk says that "our fathers' faith is our children's faith," is it a private matter or is it no longer private? What Prof Szczepanski probably has in mind is that citizens should not be subjected to any discrimination on account of their faith or lack of it. In such a case the notion of "privacy" is out of place here.

Destroying religion by liberal methods will not produce anything either, because religion is indestructable. Eschatology and not the class character is the most important reason for religious beliefs. As long as humanity does not devise the necessary substitutes for eschatology and as long as man is mortal, the need for religion will not disappear. This is what the French socialist Jean Jaures predicted. A certain weakening of religiousness in the West is a result of materialization and not of liberalization. It is simply the cult of money, which is typical of Western communities, that, in the same way as any other cult, makes us place offerings on our own altars first of all.

It is easy to say: Stop "fighting religion!" As we know, religion exists in institutional forms and the religious life of the faithful is organized by churches that, as in all other organizations, have their programs, aims, tasks, methods, tactics, and strategy, which are not always identical with those of the state. If the Church dealt only with religious affairs, there would be no major problem, but we know that the area of confrontation is much more extensive.

The present-day religious theory and practice of the communist parties in countries of real socialism is a result of the familiar complexes connected with the hostile attitude of the churches toward the birth of people's power in every socialist country. It is a result of the awareness that the Church morally supports the opposition. We should also know that the aversion of the classics of Marxism to religion is based not so much on the "unscientific" character of the ideolistic view of the world as on unjust social systems. No matter how agitating this may sound, it is a fact that the state churches -- the Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Anglican, and Protestant Churches -- have served their states well (and vice versa). That is why the function of religion in societies was evaluated by Marx and Engels from the viewpoint of the distortions committed by the churches.

In turn, the way of reasoning by the Church circles is as follows: As the "guardian of the seal" of Marxist socialism, the communist party uses the materialistic view of the world as a method of understanding, studying, and transforming the world. That is why the struggle against religion is part and parcel of the party program and that is why the party is a force hostile to the Church. The loss of the once privileged position is an important reason for the Church's aversion.

The forms of the struggle against religion differ in the individual socialist countries, depending on the specifics, traditions, and ...strength of the Church (churches). We have to note that, generally speaking, in Poland atheistic propaganda has not offended against good taste and has been confined in practice to specialist publications, that religious feelings have not been insulted, and that religious minorities have obtained legal recognition. All the same, one should not wonder that, knowing Marxist ideology and their own experience and that of the believers, the churches in some countries mistrust the religious policy followed by the given socialist country. Articles such as "The Sources of Religious Principles" (ARGUMENTY 31/83) do not promote mutual understanding nor help break down the barriers of mistrust. Citing Marx to the effect that "the workers party seeks to liberate consciences from the nightmare of religion" and supplying one's own comment that "the evolution of the function of religion that has taken place since that time in no way changes the topicality of these instructions" reminds the Church of the fact that the current religious policy is a matter of tactics. K. Kozniowski's arguments (TU I TERAZ 31/83) are downright harmful. I have always thought that socialism is a social doctrine and that it should be pitted against capitalism, that religion is opposed to materialism, and that the idealistic view of the world is opposed to the materialistic one. Well, this is not so in either socialism or religion. Is it really true that someone has said that the king is naked? Kozniowski is destroying the many years of our propaganda efforts to carefully differentiate between the notions of socialism and religion.

The citizens of the PPR have now been told that their social system -- socialism -- is their ideological adversary. Kozniowski probably confuses terms or uses interchangeable terms: religion -- the church; socialism -- the state -- the party. One must not commit such errors, however, because they are cardinal errors.

So we see that both sides have their "load" of errors, and a lot depends on a mutual understanding of them. It is impossible to reach an essential compromise, satisfactory to both sides, without an awareness of the mutual animosities and without an awareness of the necessity for coexistence between the Church and the state in history. The party should make sure that citizens have equal rights regardless of their membership of Church organizations. The Church should recognize in theory and in practice the inviolability of the principle whereby the Church is separate from the state, and also the principle of freedom of conscience.

The demand that the party be neutral toward religion has to be explained nevertheless. I cannot say whether the party is meant to be atheist (it seems this is rather unfeasible in Poland); however, it must be a secular party. Full neutrality would be possible if the Church's activity were limited to the strictly religious sphere. But we know that is not the case. Knowing our Church's elasticity, it is not difficult to imagine that a "neutral" party would quickly come under the Church's influence, one of the reasons for this being that neutrality quite simply does not exist in the world. The practices of 1981 -- the blessing of Solidarity, banners and buildings, the hanging of religious emblems inside schools, the clergy's participation in ceremonies marking the beginning of the new academic year -- all this is only a prelude. The next logical step would be the participation of representatives of the authorities in religious ceremonies and rituals. No doubt further clericalization would occur and, considering the religious differences that exist, secular areas of social life would be confession-alized. To prevent this from happening, the party must be absolutely secular. Thus, neutrality may and should concern beliefs and believers. But neutrality will not embrace all the activities of the Church, which is beating a wide path into areas controlled by secular law (for example, abortion). I am not saying that the Church has no right to give its own view on matters. On the contrary, it does have this right, but we must also be aware that this very fact creates a "battleground." Speaking about neutrality without giving a proper comment may therefore be misleading.

The state's policy toward the Church and toward believers should be intelligent and just, and even kind. But this should not cause silence on the subject of the Church's "contribution" to the shaping of negative national characteristics in the past and on the subject of the current deviations in religious life, especially those between the Church and the opposition. Believers should know not only about the mistakes and sins of "communism," but also about the mistakes and sins of the Church (the millions of victims of the Inquisition in Europe, the expulsion of non-Catholics from Poland, the numerous executions during the times of the Saxon kings for offending the religion in force). Society should know that the victory of the counterreformation in the 17th century brought a devaluation of the opponent's model of life, in other words the meaning of good work, rationalism, and tolerance was devalued (the effects of this can be felt to this day). Society should also know that Poland's weakness in the 18th century and the corruption during the Saxon era, concluding in the partitions, was the direct result of the Jesuit way of life introduced in place of the Reformation which had been defeated.

Almost nothing is being done to teach society this chapter of history. The Church stays away from this subject matter for understandable reasons. Concerned about the delicate issue of national agreement, propaganda is afraid of touching an issue which the Church or activists connected with the Church may find offensive. Here is another quotation from Prof Szczepanski's article "The Visit": "No free-thinker would dare doubt any thesis whatsoever concerning the Church and the pope" (my emphasis). These words portend danger.

This statement has been placed in the context of the pope's visit. Practice shows that the above statement is generally in force, and not just since June. The silencing of any criticism is the Church's greatest victory in modern times. One may offer congratulations. However, one should be surprised that people are still talking about a "silent Church" here and there. Maybe it is time to talk about a silent party.

I do not support a battle against religion, as it may seem from this article. But I am concerned that the principle "render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's" be fully observed. If the Church has been given more than this in my "essay," it is only because an institution formed with divine inspiration should be immaculate.

It seems that it is Kaluzynski who has written that representatives of socialist authority are usually incapable of reaching such a stage of fanaticism as the political opponent.

SZTANDAR MŁODYCH ON CC YOUTH COMMISSION MEETING

AU271548 Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 22 Sep 83 pp 1-2

[Magda Rulska report: "Only Concrete Matters Count"]

[Excerpts] The PZPR Central Committee's Youth Commission met in Warsaw on 21 September. Waldemar Swirgon, party Central Committee secretary, took part in the talks which were chaired by Tadeusz Czechowicz, Central Committee Politburo member and the Commission's chairman. Minister Andrzej Ornat and Leszek Miller, head of the Central Committee's Youth Affairs Team, were present, and the chairmen of youth organizations also took part.

Among the important speeches made during the meeting one should certainly mention that of Dean Bronisław Golebiowski. He said that young people need concrete issues. The young generation, revolutionary and uncompromising in nature, has the natural right to express its doubts, ask for changes, and voice demands. Nevertheless, he said, I believe that we should also delineate conditions for young people. We should also take care not to enter a blind alley and not merely to gather the opinions of young activists, thereby not making a single step forward in implementing these opinions. For this brings the danger that we will be uselessly inundated with ideas coming from the same group of society all the time. Youth activists and the organizational apparatus should be assessed according to the work of the primary bodies.

A separate subject at the Central Committee Youth Commission's meeting was the preparations of socialist youth unions for the new academic year.

Cezary Droszcz, chairman of the Association of Polish Students [ZSP], made a socio-political analysis of the academic community. The role of college administrations and of the party organizations inside them increased last year, he said.

The situation inside the student community is still complex, but one can notice that the students desire discussion, openly express their doubts, and wish -- with the help of their organizations and of the party -- to find answers to the following questions which trouble them: What next and what kind of professional future is in store for them. Cezary Droszcz said that the ZSP currently has almost 27,000 members. Many people joined it during summer education camps.

This year the ZSP wants to concentrate on educational work and is also thinking of making its members active and of involving itself in the life of colleges and in the establishment of self-management bodies. The quality of educational work leaves a lot to be desired. The ZSP, its chairman said, will not cease to struggle for an improvement in teaching and learning conditions, and will at the same time not lose sight of the defense of students' social interests. It will also be necessary to discuss the role of the young intelligentsia. This is an exceedingly important problem, both from the political and the human point of view.

About 3,000 students are members of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP]. The nature of our organization, ZSMP Chairman Jerzy Jaskiernia said, will certainly not make people joint it en masse. We believe, nevertheless, that we are entering a new stage. At first it seemed that our activity inside high schools was of doubtful significance, but even so we are already becoming partners in the sociopolitical life of colleges.

Union of Rural Youth [ZMW] circles are also active inside high schools. The union has about 4,500 members. According to its chairman, Leszek Lesniak, this union, too, has already passed its first stage of "entering" the political scene inside colleges. ZMW members are cooperating with their colleagues from the ZSP more and more. The ZMW chief said, we believe we can succeed in talking students into maintaining their contacts with the rural areas and that after they have received their diplomas, we believe we can make them return to their communities and enrich these intellectually, and bring inspiration, assets, and educational experience to rural institutions and outposts.

Summing up the discussion Tadeusz Czechowicz, chairman of the Central Committee's Youth Commission, stressed the need for cooperation between the youth unions inside the academic community, on the one hand, and voivodship administrative authorities and the party apparatus, on the other.

The student community, he said, must not feel isolated and deprived of support. We must concern ourselves with integrating the life of colleges with the life of the local population.

PZPR CC PLENUM SCHEDULED FOR 14-15 OCT

LD271853 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo has acquainted itself today with the state of preparations for the 13th plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

It has been decided that the 13th plenum of the Central Committee will be held on 14 and 15 October and will be dedicated to the ideological and political activities of the party.

The meeting discussed the preparations for PZPR accountability and election conferences. The meeting examined the report and endorsed the work of the Polish delegation to the conference of secretaries of Central Committees for international and ideological affairs of the communist and worker parties from the socialist countries.

The full text of the communique will be published in tomorrow's press.

CZYREK, SWIRGON RECEIVE SED DELEGATION

LD242345 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1926 GMT 24 Sep 83

[Text] Warsaw, 24 Sep (ADN) -- The development of cooperation and exchanges in the cultural field between the GDR and the PPR were discussed when SED delegation under Ursula Ragwitz, Central Committee member and head of the Central Committee's Cultural Department, visited Warsaw. The delegation had talks at the Cultural Department of the PZPR Central Committee and exchanged experience in party work in the cultural-political field.

Ursula Ragwitz was received by Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and Secretary Waldemar Swirgon and Kazimierz Zygulski, minister of culture and art.

MALINOWSKI MEETS WITH BULGARIA'S IVANOV

LD270219 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Roman Malinowski, the chairman of Supreme Committee of ZSL and deputy premier, has received Aleksi Ivanov member of the Presidium and secretary of the Supreme Committee of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]. The Bulgarian guest conveyed an appeal-message addressed to the agrarian parties and organizations calling for consolidation of all progressive forces in the struggle for peace in connection with threats that are taking place in international situation. Roman Malinowski informed the Bulgarian guest about the sociopolitical situation in Poland, participation of the party in activities to overcome the crisis, and also about preparations to the 9th ZSL Congress. Bilateral cooperation between ZSL and BZNS and participation of both organizations in the second European conference of agrarian center, liberal, and democratic parties, which will be held in Helsinki between 14 and 16 October, were also subject to talks.

CUBAN MILITARY DELEGATION VISITS 20-25 SEP

LD252239 Warsaw PAP in English 2141 GMT 25 Sep 83

[Text] Warsaw 25 Sept -- A delegation of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces led by alternate Political Bureau member of the Cuban Communist Party, Vice-Minister of National Defence, Chief of the Central Political Board of the Revolutionary Armed Forces Gen. Sixto Batista Santana visited Poland on September 20-25.

The Cuban guests were received by Political Bureau member, Secretary of the PUWP CC Kazimierz Barcikowski who told them about Poland's socio-economic situation.

Vice-ministers of national defence: alternate Political Bureau member, chief of the Polish Army's General Staff, Gen. Florian Siwicki and chief of the Polish Army's Main Political Board Gen. Jozef Baryla met members of the Cuban delegation.

The Cuban guests were acquainted with current tasks and experiences of the Polish People's Army.

The Cuban delegation also saw several military units, higher schools and factories.

PEACE MEETINGS REITERATE NEED FOR DISARMAMENT

AU272050 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/9/1983 -- Meetings devoted to peace and disarmament were held in various localities in Romania, on September 27, during which tens of thousands of participants declared their adhesion to the SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] appeal to peace and disarmament.

During the meeting of the over 11,000 workers, foremen, engineers and technicians of the oilfield equipment enterprise in Tirgoviste, emphasis was placed on the content of the appeal, on the peace initiatives of Romania's president, Nicolae Ceausescu which express the whole Romanian people's thoughts and feelings, its wish to live in peace. Stressing that Romania knows what war means, that nobody wants to have war again, the speakers resolutely condemned the arms race, asking for action to be taken most responsibly for the halting of the emplacement of new missiles in Europe, for a passage to nuclear disarmament.

More than 5,000 machine-builders in Resita, who attended the meetings held in this important center of the Romanian iron-and-steel industry, also backed the SDUF appeal, just as all those who work and live in Romania. "In peace we can build our socialist present and future. Peace is a vital prerequisite for all the peoples of the world, for mankind's future," was stressed during the meeting.

Similar meetings were also held at the "Casa Scintei" printing house in Bucharest, in big industrial units in Sibiu and Constanta, in Buzau and other localities. Just as on previous days, the participants addressed telegrams to President Nicolae Ceausescu expressing their unanimous adhesion to the peace and disarmament initiatives of the Romanian head of state.

Messages to the United Nations organization and to the current session of the UN General Assembly, as well as letters addressed to the USSR and U.S. Embassies in Bucharest, to the embassies of the European states represented in Romania's capital were also adopted asking for urgent measures to be taken for the halting of the arms race and the elimination of the nuclear danger.

COMAN, DOBRESCU MEET NORWEGIAN SOCIALIST LEADER

AU271956 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/9/1983 -- On September 27, Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, and Miu Dobrescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, met Theo Koritzinsky, chairman of Norway's Socialist Left Party, who is visiting Romania, invited by the CC of the RCP.

The interview occasioned an exchange of salutes between RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and the leadership of the Socialist Left Party of Norway.

During the talks the sides exchanged opinions on the activities of the two parties and tackled certain aspects of the international situation.

At the same time the sides expressed the wish to develop the good relations between the Romanian Communist Party and the Socialist Left Party of Norway, to the interest of both parties and countries, of the cause of international peace, security and collaboration. The talks passed in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

CURRENT STATE OF U.S.-USSR RELATIONS ASSESSED

Soviets Display 'Calm Tone'

AU271257 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Sep 83 p 3

[Report by POLITIKA permanent correspondent D. Pesic]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 21 Sep -- Following the general appraisals about the deterioration of international relations and the pessimistic views about the further course of the Geneva talks for which Moscow blames exclusively the Reagan administration, Soviet diplomacy is now once again taking steps which may be signaling a more active engagement for the fall.

It is a characteristic fact that all this is done calmly and without any excessive emotions and dramatizations. The increasingly frequent Western attacks are being answered without raising the temperature. This is probably the style which Moscow will follow in the coming days. This fact has prompted some Western observers to think that the head of Soviet diplomacy might yet appear before the UN General Assembly before the end of its session, naturally, if the conditions become favorable. At this time, the Soviets do not wish to add even a single drop of fuel to the raging international fire and are striving to maintain a calm attitude, restricting themselves only to the most necessary reactions and appraisals.

The incident with the South Korean airliner has perhaps contributed to this attitude. As is known, in the last 10 days, all attention was directed to explaining that event and providing that what was involved was a spy plane. However, no matter how necessary and indispensable all this has been in view of the storm raised in American and Western Europe in this connection, Soviet diplomacy nevertheless has been placed in a defensive position. Probably, it has been concluded by now that this situation should be overcome as quickly as possible; that it is necessary to move into action as soon as possible, primarily by repeating and confirming the previous proposals and ideas.

Andropov's Calm Tone

The answering letter of Chairman Yuriy Andropov to a group of deputies of the Social Democratic Party of Germany is interesting in this respect. The West German parliamentarians addressed themselves through Andropov to members of the USSR Supreme Soviet with their wishes and proposals for limiting the arms race, expressing at the same time their fears that the Geneva negotiations might fail and that Pershing missiles will be deployed.

In his answer to their letter, Yuriy Andropov expressed the Soviet concern over the state of international relations. Although it is clear from the contents of the letter that Andropov considers Washington exclusively responsible for the lack of success in the negotiations, he does not attack the United States by name anywhere in the entire letter. This fact, too, is perhaps an illustration of that calm tone, a reaction without any intention of applying too much heat to the polemics. Also further on in his letter, Yuriy Andropov repeats all the previous proposals.

An analysis of Andropov's letter also confirms the second Soviet basic position: The position that enough proposals have been made so far, and that it is now possible to conduct a dialogue and consultations. It is now up to the Americans to make their move; Moscow obviously has no intention of making any new proposals in the near future.

Consultation of Party Officials

Judging by what has been published, the participants of the consultative meeting of "secretaries of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties of socialist countries" concerned themselves with similar deliberations. Under a headline that provides the name of this consultative meeting, PRAVDA reports today that, yesterday in Moscow, secretaries of the Central Committees held a meeting at which they discussed ideological and international topics. The analysis of the published text shows that the purpose of the consultative meeting was to call attention to the unity of views on the present, complicated international situation.

The thesis obviously prevailed at the consultative meeting that it is necessary to adopt a calm attitude and avoid superfluous excitement and threats, and to refrain from heating up the polemics and discussions on the international scene. Following the statement that Washington and its allies are daily poisoning the international atmosphere, PRAVDA says in its report on the consultative meeting that "today it is more important than ever before to make the moves which will contribute to creating a more favorable international climate and to refrain from doing anything that might contribute to further complicating the relations...."

'Entering a More Complex Stage'

AU271352 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 24/25 September on page 15 carries a 1,500-word commentary by Vlado Teslic in his "The Week in the World" column entitled "The Door Ajar." Teslic attempts to answer the question: "Are the incorrigible optimists right, the optimists who were not swayed -- even in the blackest days of American-Soviet quarrels -- in their belief that the two big powers are persistently involved in negotiations and are on the best road towards agreement on the control of the arms race on the basis of an equilibrium, as well as on other questions impinging on the vital interests of the two countries?"

Among these optimists Teslic counts Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Gromyko, and he says that Andropov's letter to a group of FRG Bundestag Social Democratic deputies "made a significant step in the direction of calming down the anti-Soviet propaganda." Teslic quotes from the letter and cites the State Department reaction "in the style: 'Nothing new.' This time, however, such a reaction cannot but cause apprehension among the allies," Teslic says.

"The conspicuous self-confidence and the refined approach to those forces in Europe who are in favor of detente and against any armaments indicate, among other things, that the USSR has recovered relatively quickly after the shock caused immediately after the downing of the South Korean airplane and that it has in its contest with the United States again resorted to its strongest suit: missiles in Europe." Teslic believes that Moscow probably has few illusions about Bonn's resolve to install the missiles. "The question arises, however, what will happen afterwards, for it is quite certain that Europe will not be able to carry on its weak shoulders both the Soviet and the American nuclear missiles, or an even greater division between the two than that which already exists.

"What is at stake is thus much greater and far-reaching than it is supposed," Teslic says. "Did not, after all, Andropov talk about 'alien interests' in Europe which endanger everything positive that has been achieved? And did not, on the other hand, U.S. Vice President Bush -- in Vienna recently, after a visit and much praise of Yugoslavia, Romania, and Hungary -- speak about Europe outside and against the USSR, or rather about a further differentiation between an 'expanded West' and the East, or rather the USSR, a differentiation 'without Yalta,' which the United States does not recognize? Is not, after all, Reagan's new proposal for the Geneva negotiations a result of all this?

This proposal seems to be more balanced than the previous ones and it is certainly a result of persuasion by the allies.

"The door, therefore, has not been slammed shut, but it is quite certain that the two big powers in their negotiations are entering a much more complex state in which there will be perhaps an even greater propaganda war, but there will also be some maneuvering to change many a thing on the world map and in international relations."

Teslic concludes that this provides "a new chance for all those peace-loving forces all over the world which are standing up more and more resolutely not only against nuclear weapons but also in favor of global detente and the inclusion of all the countries in the solving of all the disputed questions."

MOJSOV CALLS FOR 'URGENT RESUMPTION' OF ARMS TALKS

LD261825 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1634 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Belgrade, September 26 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lazar Mojsov today (Monday) called for the urgent resumption of all U.S.-Soviet disarmament negotiations, a general reduction of arsenals throughout the world, and taxation on arms production and trade. Mojsov formulated the foregoing in a proposal to the international community envisaging three-way actions aimed at halting the arms race and big-power rivalry.

In an article published in the Yugoslav periodical REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, the Yugoslav secretary for foreign affairs stressed that such an action must be carried out "with the direct participation of the protagonists in the arms race." In his view, the most urgent measure of all is to resume the U.S.-Soviet negotiations on Euromissiles which, he said, are in a critical stage. On this, "the chief issue of their rivalry", the super-powers must strike some sort of compromise through negotiations, said Mojsov.

It is imperative that the international community as a whole, by using various channels to exert its influence, should constantly urge the resumption of all the negotiations on the two super-powers' disarmament, said Mojsov. Their rivalry, he warned, is reflected the world over and threatens to affect the totality of international relations on account of their indisputable global role in the present structure of international relations.

Another direction of action, Mojsov added, would be to halt the arms race in global proportions and encourage the process of disarmament. In this connection, the forthcoming Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament, a part of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) as well as other international and national initiatives, should stimulate efforts in this direction, Mojsov stressed.

Military expenditure in the world, which is to reach 800 billion dollars this year, is at the root of the neglect of the social and economic needs of the world and of each national community separately, said Mojsov. This state of affairs is undermining the whole world economy and the system of international economic and financial relations, he added. Mojsov urged the international community to launch in this area of disrupted international relations a third action towards disarmament and the elimination of the two superpowers' strained relations and rivalry.

Mojsov called for reducing military expenditure, adding that this could be best affected at the national level, through levying taxes on armament costs. The Yugoslav secretary for foreign affairs said revenue accruing from such taxation could be used to deal with national social and economic difficulties.

Part of the money collected through taxes on military expenditure and the international arms trade could be used to set up [words indistinct].

At the present critical moment of international relations, a cross-roads between war and peace, there is not much time in which to make up one's mind and the choice is very limited -- it is either narrow national interests reflected in rivalry for global influence or security for all peoples of the world. Negotiations and accord are the only alternative, Mojsov concluded.

SPILJAK'S UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY SPEECH CITED

LD280407 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2025 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] United Nations 27 Sep (TANJUG) -- "The most important task of the world organization today is to preserve peace, security and independence of countries and peoples. The system of security, as envisaged by the United Nations Charter, unfortunately has not fulfilled the expectations. The attempt to replace the system of collective security with the creation of military-political alliances, that is blocs, has proved incapable of securing equal security for all."

This was stated by Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, at the first meeting of the heads of state or government who are taking part in the 38th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, the basic theme of which is peace, disarmament, and security. This meeting of the heads of state or government was held at the initiative of the 7th Nonaligned Summit in New Delhi. Today's first meeting of this kind was chaired by the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

Speaking at this meeting, Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, said in continuation: "The greatest responsibility for the preservation of peace undoubtedly lies with the great powers whose bilateral relations, due to the universal effect they have on world peace, cannot be just their concern. Common fate requires from us common cooperation. For this reason it is necessary to resolutely strive for the resumption of the dialogue and the lessening of the arms race and for the solution of dangerous crises in all parts of the world. International security and peace which is based on constant accumulation of ever new systems of armaments by the great powers and blocs, in order to achieve strategic advantages, represents a most dangerous misconception which can realistically end only in a most horrible catastrophe. We must face the fact that such an approach is rejected by the widest social forces, regardless of their ideological and political convictions and views on the world.

"The nonaligned countries proceed from the fact that there is no alternative to a consistent striving for international peace and security in keeping with the principles of the United Nations Charter and peaceful coexistence between all countries.

"The striving for general and complete disarmament under international control and above all the cessation of the nuclear arms race have therefore the highest priority. Constant action for disarmament must be waged within the framework of the United Nations, through bilateral, regional, and all other talks. The basic principle, universally accepted at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly, must be equal security for all countries regardless of their size, military power, and sociopolitical order. This means that the process of disarmament must be accompanied by the prevention of the use of force and by the creation of conditions which will ensure that every nation, regardless of its size, has the right to determine its road of development. This is the only way to achieve a stable and lasting peace.

"The solution of international economic problems, in which the creation of conditions for faster development of the developing countries has priority, is of special importance.

Stable international relations cannot be built on existing economic inequalities. The nonaligned countries do not demand a redistribution of other countries' wealth but the creation of conditions for a normal development in the interest of all. For this reason, they have undertaken a long-term action to create a new international economic order through dialogue and equal cooperation.

"The liberation of peoples from colonial domination and foreign occupation and the solution of crises represent a precondition for universal security. The situation in the Middle East, the key of which is the Palestinian problem, the situation in Namibia and southern Africa, Afghanistan, and Kampuchea and the crisis in Central America represent a frightful network of crises in which the national rights of the peoples of all regions and countries are threatened by force. These and all other crises must be solved on the basis of cessation of aggression, interference, and pressures; withdrawal of foreign troops, self-determination and the right of all peoples to decide by themselves about their fate.

"Although these hotbeds of crisis have their own special reasons, they are part of the confrontation on the global plane. Their solution is possible under conditions of detente which would embrace all regions of the world and areas of international relations. All countries must participate in this and accept their part of responsibility for peace and security on the regional and global plane.

"In conclusion, I wish to emphasize the irreplaceable role of the United Nations in the preservation of peace and in the strengthening of security and independence. In the world in which we live we need a strong United Nations which will be the guarantor of international peace and security, political independence, and territorial integrity of states. The United Nations must be the true forum of equal dialogue and democratic decision-making by all subjects of the international community of the most important questions of the present time."

Concluding his speech at the first meeting of the heads of state or government who are taking part in the 38th Session of the United Nations Assembly, the president of the SFRY Presidency said that "the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations, or rather the 40th regular session of the General Assembly in 1985 offers a suitable opportunity to prepare concrete proposals and recommendations for further strengthening and promotion of the functioning of the world organization. On its part, Yugoslavia will support all efforts to this end and will actively cooperate in their elaboration and implementation."

GREEK MILITARY DELEGATION ON OFFICIAL VISIT 26 SEP

Arrival Noted; Talks Begin

LD270147 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1320 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Belgrade 26 Sep (TANJUG) -- Pavsaniak Zakolikos, deputy minister in the Greek Ministry of Defense, arrived today for an official and friendly visit to our country and her Armed Forces. He is leading a military delegation from his country.

At Batajnica Airport the high-ranking guest and members of the delegation from the neighboring and friendly Greece were welcomed by Colonel General Veljko Kadifjevic, assistant federal secretary of national defense, and his associates. Greek Ambassador to Yugoslavia Dhimitrios Makris and Defense Attache Lieutenant Colonel Evripidhis Tomadakis were there to meet them also.

During the day Deputy Minister Pavsaniak Zakolikos visited the Federal Secretariat for National Defense where, with his host Colonel General Veljko Kadifjevic, he held talks of interest for further promotion of relations and cooperation between the Armed Forces of the two countries.

Mamula Receives Delegation

LD271948 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1106 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 27 Sep (TANJUG) -- In the Federal Secretariat of National Defense today Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary of national defense, received Pavsanias Zakolikos, undersecretary in the Greek Defense Ministry, who is leading a delegation of his country's Armed Forces on an official and friendly visit to our country and the Armed Forces.

During a cordial and friendly conversation during their meeting an exchange of views was carried out on the question of promoting relations and cooperation between the Armed Forces of the two friendly and neighboring countries.

The meeting and the talks in the Federal Secretariat of National Defense were attended by Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, assistant federal secretary of national defense, and other associates of the Federal Secretary of National Defense.

MARKOVIC, SWAPO'S NUJOMA HOLD TALKS 27 SEP

LD280144 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1806 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Belgrade, September 27 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) call for an early settlement within the United Nations of the Namibian question.

At a meeting here today, Tuesday, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), Central Committee Presidency Dragoslav Markovic and SWAPO President Sam Nujoma underlined the importance of the nonaligned countries' activities for the liberation of the Namibian people from South African occupation.

The SWAPO president is in Yugoslavia since Sunday at the invitation of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance, the largest socio-political organization in the country. Markovic and Nujoma denounced South Africa's occupation of Namibia, its policy of destabilizing neighbouring independent states, and particularly, its aggression on Angola.

Markovic expressed the solidarity of the LCY and the Yugoslav nations and nationalities with the Namibian people and their sole representative, SWAPO, in the struggle for the independence of the South West African country.

MOSCOW TU DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR 5-DAY VISIT

LD271949 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 27 Sep (TANJUG) -- A delegation of the Moscow Trade Union Federation Council arrived in Belgrade today for a 5-day official visit with the Belgrade trade unions. The delegation is led by Vyacheslav Ivashechkin, a member of the Moscow Trade Union Presidium.

Today the delegation of Moscow trade unions visited the Josip Broz Tito memorial complex and laid flowers on Tito's tomb.

DPRK DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS WITH ASSEMBLY MEMBERS

LD261852 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1714 GMT 26 Sep 83

[Text] Belgrade, September 26 (TANJUG) -- A delegation of the Democratic Front for the Unification of the Fatherland of the DPR of Korea, headed by the Supreme People's Assembly Standing Committee Vice-Chairman Ryo Yeng Gu, today, Monday, visited the Assembly of Yugoslavia.

Chairman of the Yugoslav Assembly Federal Chamber Aslan Fazlija informed the guests on the competencies and functioning of the Assembly of Yugoslavia chambers. Views were exchanged on bilateral relations as well as cooperation between the two assemblies.

The delegation also had talks with the Yugoslavia women's organization officials and exchanged views on topical social-political questions, as well as the role and place of women in the development of society.

The Korean delegation arrived to Belgrade at the invitation of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia.

VISIT BY GDR'S STOPH PREVIEWED; WILL MEET PLANINC

LD272018 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1741 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Belgrade 27 Sep (TANJUG) -- Svetislav Vujovic, official spokesman for the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, has made the following statement in connection with the forthcoming visit of Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers:

"As has already been announced, Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, will arrive in our country tomorrow for an official friendly visit to our country. Bearing in mind the fact that relations of friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation based on equality have continued to develop between the SFRY and the GDR in a comprehensive and successful manner for a long series of years, there is no doubt that this visit will give a fresh positive impetus to their further promotion. It is therefore expected that during the talks which Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, will have with Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, attention will be focused on questions concerning the further broadening and deepening of bilateral cooperation, especially in the economic field.

"An important place in the talks between the two delegations will be given to questions of the current developments in international relations. In this connection the two sides are expected to acquaint each other with their views on the most important topical problems in the world and especially on the questions of the development of the situation in Europe."

GOVERNMENT ORDERS STUDY OF PRICE INCREASES

LD271846 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1326 GMT 27 Sep 83

[Text] Belgrade, Sep 27 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav Government today, Tuesday, ordered the Federal Market Inspectorate to examine all price increases since the expiration on August 1, 1983, of the decision on setting ceiling prices. The government will inform the Assembly of Yugoslavia about the results of the examination, in order that efficacious steps should be taken.

Discussing this year's price policy, the government noted that a part of the price increases was necessary and unavoidable.

The government assessed, however, that after the expiration of the decision on setting ceiling prices, the just adopted regulations were evaded, regulations which, had they been consistently respected, would have (?enabled) conditions for curbing spiralling prices.

As stressed, this primarily refers to the producers obligation when forming prices on the home market to take into consideration the relation of export-import prices of individual goods and services and to obtain consumer's [word indistinct] on this.

CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES OF STRIKES ASSESSED

LD272219 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1612 GMT 27 Sep 83

["Strikes in Yugoslavia: by Davor Kriska" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Zagreb, September 27 (TANJUG) -- In the first six months of this year there were 172 strikes in Yugoslavia in which, according to as yet incomplete data, some 120,000 workers took part. Yugoslavia, otherwise, has some 6 million employed. The number of workers taking part in work stoppages, as strikes are called in Yugoslavia, approximately equals the number of workers taking part in strikes over the last several years, that is between 60 and 70 on the average. However, according to the latest issue of the Zagreb weekly DANAS, the duration of strikes is on the downward trend ever since 1980, when strikes lasted 10 hours as compared to 5 hours now.

Officially, strikes are not recognized in any Yugoslav document, but nor are they now neglected, either. In the basic self-management document -- the Law on Associated Labour, disputes in basic working cells within working collectives are noted, indicating that strikes are meant here, too.

Analyses show that strikes in Yugoslavia occur because of insufficiently developed self-management relations, workers' dissatisfaction with the business policy, bureaucratization of political organizations in firms and low wages.

In the middle of the last decade prominent Yugoslav theoretician and politician Dr Vladimir Bakarić wrote that a whole series of work stoppages has been positive or on the border of positive in the very sense of developing self-management. Although not condemned, a strike is not normal in the Yugoslav society. For the most part strikes are resolved within a few hours of the adoption of decisions which should have been adopted much earlier.

According to some analyses, virtually two-thirds of all strikes occurred in three types of economic activity: metals production and processing; textile, leather, rubber, and footwear industries; building and building materials industry. In all these strikes there has been not one physical conflict, nor have there been any damages inflicted on machines or other means for work.

The number of strikes is on the increase in four Yugoslav republics and provinces and on the decrease in the remaining three. In the first six months of this year, no strikes were reported in the Republic of Montenegro alone. In the most developed Yugoslav republic, Slovenia, low income was among the most frequent causes of work stoppages.

In Yugoslavia, a strike is assessed as unavoidable only providing the workers have previously used up every other possibility of weathering problems by means of self-management. Otherwise, this would mean negating the vast potentials which the self-management accord reaching offers in solving the workers' material problems.